Z 11.

he moment I was nothing peal.' It is received and had already hat save the fee could. ers, in comment of the could. ers, in comment is a construction of the could separation. It is a construction of the could be constructed in the construction of the could be comment of

& CO.

S IN VG,

EET,

a from Eng-qualities of best qualities iderminsters, as and quali-Canton and

TING.

CES,

ild's

PER.

ER PHI-

g and useful

AND

. CO.,

ET, BOSTON.

GHTS nent.

IA STREET,

LYN, L. L.

Winter for

The Docience in the
hesitation in
r practice of
country. To
this House
this House
this form the

alk from the

M. D.,

DGE,

llers.

ST.

LSON.

, MASS.

olders!

36 pages, by
O RIGHTS,
ach, have no
An Answer
touching Reand Duty of
of the North.'

nhill. Price

NE.

NER

ollman's, 291 ponset Post-

CO.,

ON'S

ines,

ACHMENT,

T. nanics' Hall,

MASS.

o order.

OL.

1860.

ELER, well

Phrenologist, ner of Hano-ological Ex-of Character, part instruc-the manage— March 4.

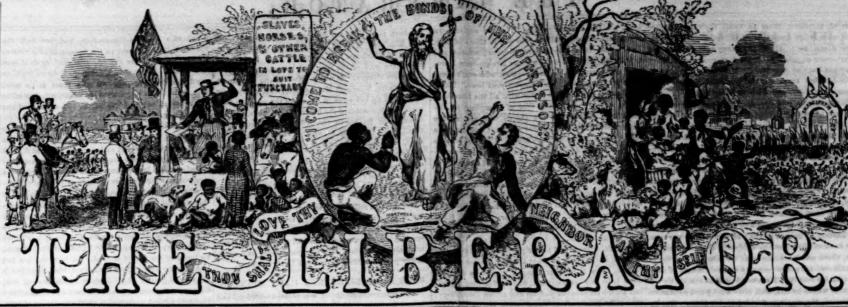
stitution will 60, and con-ission should c. For par-

lete without it in deeds et

pollars, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

F Advertisements making less than one square in-greed three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Financal Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, Ep-RUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-stables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men as mrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE BIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXX. NO. 20.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1534.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Journal of Commerce. WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION. I am desirous of preparing something relative to the position and prospects of the colored population of these islands—to controvert the absurd statements of those soi disant philanthropists who would persuade the world that the condition of the West Indies has been improved by the emancipation of the slaves. I see in the New York Times letters of the surgestion of the slaves. I see in the New York Times letters of the surgestion of the slaves. to correspondent from Jamaica, in which it is at-ampted (and the attempt is endorsed by editorial uticles) to be shown that the negro race of that articles) to be shown that the negro race of that island is capable of self-government, and that their moral, physical and political condition is better than it was before 1834, the year of emancipation. It is also attempted to be proved that the reason of the decline of the industrial products of these islands, lies not in the want of labor, but of capital and the product of the self-graph of the self-gr islands, her not in the war of least, that is, the argument goes, if the Jamaica lalter had money enough to pay for the labor of the negroes, the negroes would work; and the the negroes, the negroes and sugar plantations would regain their former productiveness and importance. Similar arguments are promulgated by the Governor of Janaics, in a speech before the Exeter Hall Abolimaica, in a speech before the Exercity Half Adoli-tionists, which I read just before coming here; and, indeed, the so-called philanthropists resort to any manner of misstatements, to any absurdities and fallacies of argument, in order to account for the decline of the West India Islands since emancipaion, rather than attribute it to its true causes, and rather than allow that their favorite Sambo is lazy, imbecile, inferior in intellect, and incapable of governing himself. In short, setting out with the theory that the negro is equal in every respect to the white man—that the African race is only a the white man—that the African race is only a modification of the Caucasian—and that the two races ought therefore to enjoy the same privileges and maintain a state of perfect equality when living together, they will not allow themselves to look at facts as they exist; and they ignore entirely the testimony of residents of the Islands, who have the last means of knowing their racel condition and hest means of knowing their real condition, and the causes of it. I have never been more struck with the effect of a mistaken fanaticism on a mind, in most respects acute and discriminating, than in the case of this very Editor of the New York Times, to whom I have already alluded. In his issue of February 24, (the semi-weekly Times,) he writes an article, every word of which, so far as it respects the condition and habits of the negroes, is utterly mounded.

utterly unfounded, as any one who has ever spent a single week in one of the West India Islands can-not but know. I have never been in Jamaica, and not but know. I have never been in Jannaica, and cannot of course speak from personal observation there; but I have used my eyes and my ears somewhat, during a two-months' residence in New Providence, and I know positively, from my own observation, the state of the negro population here. In the Bahamas, slavery was always (while it existed) more nominal than real. The slaves were nover reduced to so deep and dependent a state of scrvitude as in the Windward Islands. Much less productive than those islands, of less extent, with a productive than those islands, of less extent, with a comparatively sterile soil, the estates here require comparatively few laborers, and those were never subjected to very severe toil in the cultivation of the crops of cotton, sugar, and fruit, which formed the principal products of these islands. The separation of families, the selling of slaves to be taken to distant places, was almost unknown. A great proportion of the negroes were household servants, and were admitted freely to all the religious and educational privileges enjoyed by their owners. For these and other reasons, which I have not now room to explain the set of smargingties, really of room to explain, the act of emancipation really effected a change of less importance in the condition of the black population here, than in the large and more productive islands of the South, where the system of slavery was more oppressive, and the right of the owners of slaves over them more extensive. For those reasons it would naturally supposed that the creoles of the Bahamas, when once emancipated entirely from the control of their masters, would have begun immediately to display that capability for self-government which, if they possessed it, could have been developed here under the most favorable circumstances. If all that was necessary to make them equal to their masters, morally socially and all itself. morally, socially and politically, was the state of perfect freedom and equality which was conferred upon them by emancipation, we should naturally

virtues. It is now nearly thirty years since they have been free. During thirty years the darkest negro has retained legally a position of complete social and political equality with the whitest white man of the Rabownes. Now, what has been the result? I will not Aow, what has been the result? I will not speak of the consequence of this measure to the proprietors of the estates themselves. The decaying walls of ruined and deserted mansions, the mouldering evidences of former wealth and elegance, scattered all over this island, the dilapidated enclosures of extensive fields, once productive, now overgrown with thickets of dense growth, while here and there a struggling orange-tree sustaining a choked and stinted life, the almost total absence of inhabited dwellings in the interior, all these sights. mhabited dwellings in the interior, all these sights, assertion which the traveler so often hears from the

expect of them a rapid progress in the arts of life, in education, morality, thrift, and all the social

lips of the older citizen here, 'we were ruined by But we are told that the state of things just pictured really forms no argument against the pro-priety of emancipation,—and that, to use the words of the New York *Times*, though 'the few have fallen, the many have risen into comfort and happiness. Now let us see whether this is true. I have been a daily observer of the blacks here for two months; have taken some pains to ascertain their real condi-tion, socially and morally: I have conversed with them, as well as with the white inhabitants, in relevence to their relative position now and before emancipation; and I do not hesitate to declare that enancipation; and I do not hesitate to declare that in no respect whatever is their condition better than it was when they were slaves, nor do they display that capacity for improvement with which their admirers have credited them. Take away the whites remove the care of the English government—and this colony would relapse into an utter state of barbarism in a very few years. Thus far, after a lapse of thirty years of freedom, not one single instance is to be found here of the attainment, by a negro of unmixed blood, to any position of respectability, honor, or wealth. A few of them have learned the trades of carpenter or shoemaker, a few more serve honor, or wealth. A few of them have learned the trades of carpenter or shoemaker, a few more serve as policemen, a few are employed as masters or crews of small wrecking vessels, some are fishermen, some cooks and household servants, a few cultivate small patches of ground, and bring the produce to market. But by far the greater portion of the six or seven thousand negroes of Nassau and its vicinity are in a state of absolute dependence upon the white population—less than one-third of their own number—for support. They have no conception of any masthod of taking care of themselves, beyond doing

an occasional job of work, in the way of porterage, or assisting in discharging and loading cargoes, or some other desultory service when required. As soon as they have earned a few dollars, or a few shillings even, sufficient to buy a little fish and hominy, and a few bananas, and to get a glass or their cabins—such of them as have cabins—and remain idle till again compelled to work to avoid them never work more than three, or at most four days out of the week, and those merchants who bosony, and a few bassass, and to get a glasse or their achins—and in the archins—and the devil was ack). But there achins—and remain falle till again compiled to work to avoid actual starvation. The most illustrious among the property of the sentence are compelled, when their business is pressing, to employ alternately two or mulation of money or of land, seems to be entirely unknown to most of them. In this delightful rimed, the children is a sentence of the compensation of the proof of the children is a sentence, and they need little protection from the weather beyond a that-both cabin, which they can build too of life is easy; and more than this they do not think of I. alsowt, in all the sarts of life, in all social progress, they have not made a step forward has supplied them. Both of the compensation of the c

any of the great questions which interest our common country. I am an African slave-trader. I believe I am one of those Southern men who believe that Slavery is right, morally, religiously, socially, and politically. (Applause.) I believe that the institution of Slavery has done more for this country, more for civilization, than all other interests put together. I believe that slavery is would put civilization, than all other interests put together. I believe that slavery is right in the point of view I have stated, I would demand of the General Government our whole rights in this regard. I believe that the General Government by the Constitution never had any right to legislate upon this subject. I believe that our Government was a confederation of States for certain specified objects with limited powers; that the domestic relations of each State are to be and should be left to themselves; that this eternal Slavery question has been the bone of contention between the North and South, which if kept in the halls of Congress must break up this Government. I am one of those who believe in non-intervention. Can be supplyed to the constitution of Slavery in the Ferritories is a mere theory, a mere theory. I believe that this doctrine of protection to Slavery in the Ferritories is a mere theory, a mere abstraction. (Applause.) I am not in favor of breaking up this Government upon an impracticable issue, upon a mere theory. I believe that this doctrine of protection to Slavery in the States or the Territories is a mere theory, a mere abstraction. (Applause.) Practically it can be of no consequence to the South, for the reason that the infant has been strangled before it was born. (Laughter.) You have cut off the supply of slaves; you whave crippled the institution of Slavery in the Sates by your najust laws, and it is mere folly and madness now to ask for protection for a nonentity, for a thing which is not there. We have no slaves to carry to these Territories. We can never make allowes. But if we could, it would not slaves. But if we could, it would not be wise for the reason, that if you make another Slave State from our new Territories with the present supply of slaves, you will be obliged to give up another State, either Maryland, Delaware, or Virginia, to Free Soil upon the North. Now, I would deal with this question, fellow Democrats, as a practical one. When I can see no possible practical good to result to the country from demanding legislation upon this theory,

The Old Dominion came in for arraignment and judgment. He thus put it on to 'the demon of slavery' for what he alleged it had done in portions

'Slave plantation labor had done its work. Every-thing was falling into decay. The fields which were once cultivated and valuable had become pine barrens, while the very wolves were returning to how over the desolation which has been wrought by the demon

Patriotic business, this, for a Senator, striving to set the people of Blooklyn, New York, against Virginia! And yet that demagogue professes that he does not interfere at all with slavery where it exists by no means, he says; just as the Quaker did not mean interference when he gave the mad-dog cry; the Senator only gives slavery the 'demon' name; when the John Browns seize the clubs, rush into Virginia and spread murder and desolation, where the Constitution of our country guarantees 'domestic tranquillity.' How long can these States continue united if these Senator Doolittles go about preaching destrines that tend directly to the point of treason? Language cannot too severely arraign these Abolition demagogues who are sowing the seeds of local hate throughout the land. When they use such words as we have cited, for the purpose of stirring the political waters, it is a piece of rank hypocrisy for them to prate about not interfering with slavery per se. The pest of our country is slavery agitation, and those who in this way promote it deserve to be held up and lashed with public scorn.

Mr. Doolittle is a recent convert to the ranks of Black Republicanism and as away with new control.

fortable. He could stand on the 1852 Democratic platform, but takes as his pretext of opposition the Nebraska Bill, and gives this date for the origin of his party. But there is higher genealogy for his sectional party; and if he does not know it, he ought to know it. This is a political organization based on the single idea of opposition to slavery, and for war on the slave rule, as the New York Post expresses it; and its members, in carrying out this special and distinct object alone, can 'occupy common ground,' as the Post says. This is its basis, its being's end and aim; and there is no other correct way to run up its genealogy, than to take the rect way to run up its genealogy, than to take the dates of the formation of political organizations based on this common object. This is a sound touch-

dates of the formation of political organizations based on this common object. This is a sound touchstone: none can possibly be sounder.

Tried by this test, and what is the genealogy of Senator Doolittle's party? Is it such as he claims it to be? This wanton son of sedition has the impudence to affirm—tell it not in Gath—that his party 'stands to-day upon precisely the principles of the old Republican party of Thomas Jefferson's, that he and they acknowledged Jefferson as 'their leader and their chieftain.' What rank absurdity! What col impudence! What profanation of a name and of the old Democracy! What line, what sentence, what word can be produced in Jefferson's day, to show that the common object of the Democracy of his day was war on slavery? Not a single word! But there is the great and damning political fact against Doolittle, that the Democracy of Jefferson's day, like the Democracy of to-day, ramified into every State of the Union, and contended for objects common to them all; and so far from prohibition of slavery in the territories being anch an object, both Jefferson and Madison regarded

of Jafferson's day, like the Damocracy of boday, ramified into every State of the Damocracy of boday, ramified into every State of the Union, and one medical confection of the property of th

miserable abolition scheme of 1840.

Lee Upon the development of the Helper iniquity, it appeared that Mr. Marcus Spring, of the house of Bailey, Southard & Co., of New York, had been subscribing to the cause of Brown, Helper & Co., by the hundred dollars. The house of which he was a member was largely engaged in the Southern additionally and the South, and of the duty of maintaining it as an object of paramount imporance, is smitten with judicial blindness, talks of what has never been, and advisable, for the sake of the house and its Southern advisable, for the sake of the house and its Southern and its south would throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South would throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South wall throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South wall throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South would throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South would throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South wall throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South wall throw their custom into the hands of men who were whetting their knives to cut the South, and criminal experiment of three-score years has demonstrated is working the crethrow of his subject of paramount imporance, is smitten with judicial blindness, talks of what has never been, and in the hands of what has never been, and all claimsts—not stopping to ask of what religious creed or of what political party a man may be, but only whether he is willing to recognize in the slave a part has demonstrated is working the crethrow of held out the hand of botherly love and kindness and the part of the manufacture of the south, and the subject of paramount imporance, is smitten with judicial blindness, talks of what has never been, and all claimsts—not stoppin

# The Liberator.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Mr. Doolittle is a recent convert to the ranks of Slack Republicanism, and, as usual with new converts, his zeal is of a bitter, outrageous, ultra sort, showing hot haste to make his new relations comfortable. He could stand on the 1852 Democratic Carolina, came forward and offered an appropriate and

Balance from last year, \$2,452 65 Amount received from subscription to Anti-Slavery Standard, donations and sale of pamphlets, 14,239 11

man; to the people of the free States, by tempting man; to the people of the free States, by templing them to trample under foot the obligations of truth, justice and humanity, for those wages of iniquity with which the Federal Government rewards apostates to liberty and righteousness.'

8. Resolved, That the 'glorious Union,' ever since

its formation, has signified nothing but the supremacy of a Southern slave oligarchy, who have always dictated the policy of the nation, and who claim a divine right to rule, according to their pleasure, alike the slaves on their plantations and the people of the free States, without remonstrance or interrogation, and as the condition of the perpetuation of the glorious Union ' aforesaid

9. Resolved, That the privileges accorded to Southern citizens sojourning or travelling in the North, under this Union, are these: To speak with impunity whatever they please against free institutions and free society; to advocate slavery and the slave traffic as worthy of universal extension, without interference, menace or personal danger, and to an unlimited extent; to hold any meeting or publish any journal they may choose in which to assail the uncompro-mising friends of freedom as fanatics and traitors, and to glorify the 'lords of the lash' as the only true

friends of their country; and, in short, to threaten, bully and calumniate, ad libitum, whatever or whoever is deemed by them to be adverse in spirit and sentiment to the sum of all villanies." 10. Resolved, That the privileges accorded to North-

ern citizens sojourning or travelling in the South, under this Union, are these: To wear padlocks upon their lips; to forswear their manhood by bowing down to the Moloch of slavery; to speak in behalf of the enslaved at the peril of their lives; to be tarred and feathered if they are suspected of cherishing anti-slavery sentiments; to be thrust into prison and sold as slaves on the auction-block if they are of African descent; to be scourged, branded, lynched and driven out by mobocratic violence even while in the prosecution of their legitimate business, simply because they are Northern men.

11. Resolved, therefore, That the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' commends itself to the reason, conscience and hearty adoption of every man claiming to be loyal to the Declaration of Independence, and it becomes the solemn duty of the North to carry it into immediate practice, as demanded by every in-ations of self-preservation, and by all that is obliga-tory in the claims of justice and humanity.

OPENING REMARKS OF MR. GARRISON. The PRESIDENT then addressed the audience as fol-

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This is the first time that our Society has been in this large and commodious hall. I like it in all respects excepting one. There seems to be here a compromise between light and darkness, (laughter,) and for one, I would rather revel in excess of light than to be groping at all in regard to all the measures of this Society, I trust I may take it for granted, that there is but one opinion here respecting the inhuman, wicked, unchristian, diabolical character of American slavery (loud applause); and that we are resolved, as one man, to enter upon this conflict, and never to go back one jot or tittle, but to press onward and upward until the goal of Universal Emancipation shall be reached.

I feel an 'irrepressible' desire to congratulate you all upon the triumphant progress of the 'irrepressible conflict' in all parts of our country. (Loud cheering.) In the free States, undeniably, the conflict is going on; and may I not say, that in all the slave States, it is going on, with even more vehemence and zeal than among ourselves. For at last, even the in-vincible Democratic party have been reached; and by through the anti-slavery agitation, thank God! that party is no longer a unit in behalf of slavery (applause); it has been divided, I trust, never again to be united by any compromise whatsoever with the Slave Power. It seems to me to be one of the most striking proofs of the cheering progress of the movement in which we are engaged that have yet been given to us. Only think of it! The party which has, for so many years, cried out, 'There must be no all the parties in the country! The party which declares that there ought not to be any sectionalism as against slavery, has now been sundered, geographically, and on this very question! The party which has said, 'Let discussion cease for ever,' is busily engaged in the discussion, so that, possibly, the American Anti-Slavery Society might adjourn sine die, after we get through with our present meetings, and leave its work to be carried on in the other direction! (Laughter and cheers.) The party which says that anti-slavery must be put down in this country, is itself divided, discomfitted, and, I believe, overthrown. 'Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever.' [Rev. Mr. WORTH-'Amen!' 'To him that overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea-for his mercy endureth for ever!' (Loud applanse.) In view, therefore, of these cheering

continues the same as from the beginning. It is the

since the organization of the Society, to come here, and, if they will, take the lead, and go forward and carry the banner of emancipation, until liberty shall be given to all in the land. We are here to settle no other question, excepting the right of the slave to his freedom-excepting the sinfulness of making man the property of man; and we have always acrupulously indeavored to make our platform such that every man whatever may be his peculiar religious opinions should have no excuse for standing aloof therefrom

I am glad to be able to present to you, as the firs speaker on this occasion, one whose orthodoxy, at past, has never been questioned. (Applause.) There are those who say that the reason they do not co operate with this Society is, that some of us hold the logical opinions which are distasteful to them; we are heretics, and of course, the Jews can have no dealing with the Samaritans. (Laughter.) Now, we are t listen to one who is thoroughly evangelical- a Puritan of the Puritane'; and yet, I ask you how has this noble man been met by the evangelical clergy of the country, as a body? How has he been treated in this city by his own evangelical brethren? Why, if he had been a heretic as bad as any who has ever yet appeared on earth, he could not have received wors treatment at the hands of the orthodox body of our country. But I bless God that he has not faltered; that he has manfully stood his ground; that he has made up his mind, if need be, to die in the 'imminent deadly breach'; and I am glad that he has found at least a faithful few to rally to his side, who are re solved to sustain him to the end. All my sympathies have been with him, because he has nobly been striving in behalf of the oppressed in our land, vindicating the character of God, the nature of man, and the claims of our suffering humanity; and my heart goes out to him, and mingles with his own, and I feel to bid him God-speed, and to wish him the most entire success, even as 'a Puritan of the Puritans.' (Loud applause.) I now have the pleasure of introducing to you the Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, of the city of New York. (Enthusiastic cheering.) Allow me just to add, that, in inviting our friend to speak here to day, we have invited him to speak what George B Cheever thinks, not the American Anti-Slavery Society; not to endorse anything pertaining to this platform, or the measures or principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but to speak here as he knows how to speak in his own pulpit. (Renewed cheering.)

[Dr. CHEEVER then proceeded to make a stirring and masterly speech, which elicited enthusiastic ap plause throughout; but as it would occupy a page of the Liberator, we are obliged to postpone its publication. It gave immense satisfaction.]

### SPEECH OF ROBERT PURVIS.

ROBERT PURVIS, of Pennsylvania, was then intr duced, who said :-

MR. PRESIDENT-As one of your speakers to-day, feel myself embarrassed by two opposite and conflict ing feelings: one is a painful and distressing sense o my incapacity for the duty which you have imposed apon me, and the other is an irrepressible desire to do o: say something effective for a cause which is deare to me than my heart's blood. Sir, I need not sa here that I belong to that class who, at the South, are bought, sold, leased, mortgaged, and in all re spects treated as absolute property; I belong to the class who, here at the North, are declared, by the highest tribunal known to your government, to possess ' no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

I say your government-it is not mine. Thank God, I have no willing share in a government that deliberately, before the world, and without a blush, declares one part of its people, and that for no crim or pretext of crime, disfranchised and outlawed. For such a government, I, as a man, can have no feeling ontempt, loathing, and unutterable abhorrence And, sir, I venture to affirm that there is no man in this audience, who has a spark of manhood in him who has a tittle of genuine self-respect in his bosom

that will not justify me in these feelings. What are the facts in the case? What is the attitude of your boasting, braggart republic toward the 600,000 free people of color who swell its population and add to its wealth? I have already alluded to the dictum of Judge Taney in the notorious Dred Scott decision. That dictum reveals the animus of the whole government; it is a fair example of the cowardly and malignant spirit that pervades the entire policy of the country. The end of that policy is, undoubtedly, to destroy the colored man, as a man, to prevent him from having any existence in the land except as a 'chattel personal to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.' With this view, it says a colored man shall not sue and recover his lawful property: he shall not bear arms and train in the militia: he shall not be a commander of a vessel, not even of the meanest craft that creeps along the creeks and bays of your Southern coast; he shall not carry a mail-bag, or serve as a porter in a post-office; and he shall not even put his face in a United States court-room for any purpose, except by the sufferance of the white man. I had occasion, a few days since, to go to the United States court-room in the city of Philadelphia. My errand was a proper one; it was to go bail for one of the noble band of colored mer who had so bravely risked their lives for the rescue of a brother man on his way to eternal bondage. As I was about entering the door, I was stopped, and ordered back. I demanded the reason. 'I have my orders,' was the reply. What orders? 'To keep out all colored people.' Now, sir, who was the man that offered me this indignity? It was Deputy-Marshal Jenkins, the notorious slave-catcher. And why did he do it? Because he had his orders from pious, praying, Christian Democrats, who hold and teach the damnable doctrine that the black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect.' It is true that Marshal Yost, to whom I indignantly appealed, reversed this man's orders, and apologized to me, assuring me that I could go in and out at my pleasure. But, sir, the apology made the matter worse; for, mark you, it was not me personally that was objected to, but the race with which I stand identified. Great God! who can think of such outrages such meanness, such dastardly, cowardly cruelty without burning with indignation, and choking for want of words with which to denounce it? And in the case of the noble little band referred to, the mer who generously, heroically risked their lives to rescue the man who was about being carried back to alavery; look at their conduct; you know the circumstances. We recently had a slave trial in Philadelphia -no new thing in the city of 'Brotherly Love.' A victim of Virginia tyranny, a fugitive from Southern injustice, had made good his escape from the land of ships and chains to Pennsylvania, and had taken up his abode near the capital of the State. The place of his retreat was discovered; the bloodhounds the law scented him out, and caught him; they put him in chains and brought him before Judge Cadwallader - a man whose pro-slavery antecedents mad him a fitting instrument for the execution of the accursed Fugitive Slave law. The sequel can easily b imagined. Brewster, a leading Democrat-the man who, like your O'Conor of this city, has the unblushing hardihood to defend the enslavement of the black man upon principle-advocated his return. The man was sent into life-long bondage. While the

trial was going on, slaveholders, Southern students

and pro-slavery Market-street salesmen were freely

terested, were carefully excluded. Prohibited from

entering, they thronged around the door of the court

house. At last the prisoner was brought out, hand-

cuffed and guarded by his captors; he was put into a

carriage which started off in the direction of the

rush for the carriage, in hopes of effecting a rescue;

they were overpowered, beaten, put under arrest and

Some ten or twelve brave black men made a

tted; but the colored people, the class most in

themselves chargeable with violating it!

hellish laws and precedents that disgrace the statute- called a Native American-I don't believe in measure of Easton, (I believe it was,) or some other town on God has given him. the Eastern Shore, on the allegation that, contrary to law, there was no white man on board. The vessel hension, is the spirit of what is called Native American constituted his entire property and sole means of sup- canism, there is another thing I regard as ten-fold porting his family. He was advised to sue for its re- more base and contemptible, and that is your Ameri covery, which he did, and, after a long and expensive can Democracy-your piebald and rotten Democracy this time the vessel had rotted and gone to wreck, time tramples one-sixth of the population of the cour and the man found himself reduced to beggary. His try in the dust, and declares that they have 'r business in Philadelphia was to raise \$60 with which rights which a white man is bound to respect.' And to take himself and family out of this cursed land, to sir, while I repudiate your Native Americanist a country where liberty is not a mockery, and free- and your bogus Democracy, allow me to add, at the dom a mere idle name!

tion without representation! Who was the first Pennsylvania, under the old Constitution, when martyr in your revolutionary war? Crispus Attucks, could go to the polls as other men do, but your mode first to flow in behalf of American independence. In Your Reform Convention, your Pierce Butlers-th Philadelphia the colored people organized themselves chised me, and I am without any political rights what soldier-like behavior was such as to elicit the warmest were in my power. How could I, a colored man, joi guage of General Jackson on that memorable ocea- to a party that is and must of necessity be a pro-

## To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana:

hundred and twenty-four dollars in money and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commis-sioned officers will be appointed from among your-

and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men, in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons, or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen. To assure you of the sineerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisina, who is fully informed as to

This was the language of General Jackson at the the colored people of Ph

Soldiers-When, on the banks of the Mobile, I Soldiers—When, on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow-citizens, I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy; I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign; I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you, as well as ourselves, had to country, and that you, as well as ourselves, had to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, wife, children and property—you have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things. Soldiers! the President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the shall hear now praisewormy was your conduct was replying to an article in the Detroit rese tree to an people will give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in ap-

plauding your noble ardor.

'The enemy approaches, his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united; all contention has ceased

Sir, much as this country is indebted to the colored people for their aid in times of war, they are under still greater obligations for their services in time of all liberty, will gradually, peacefully, freely draw and form a community by themselves, somewhere and North, has been a mine of wealth to you. Belie Africa or the West Indies. them as you will, a more honest, industrious, orderly Mr. Greeley may, as he says, love liberty, &c., bu called for the very purpose of denouncing the free reformer he may be, is lacking in the nobler sent in effect, is borne by Judge Catron, of Tennessee, and not 'liking the negro race,' no feeling, or do they sup by the Governor of Missouri. I hold in my hand an pose we have none? Are we not men? 'Have w mony, which I will read :-

great majority of carpenters, tailors, shoe nakers, &c., musicians, jewellers, goldsmiths, tradesmen and mer-chants. As a general rule, the free colored people of Louisiana, and especially of New Orleans, the "creole colored people," as they style themselves, are a sober, industrious and moral class, far advanced in educa-tion and civilization. From that classes in educa-tion and civilization. tion and civilization. From that class came the baton of colored men who fought for the country uneral Jackson in 1814-15, and whose res der General Jackson in 1814-15, and wnose remnants, veterans whom age has withered, are taken by the hand, on the anniversary of the glorious eighth of Janhand, on the anniversary of the glorious eighth of Janhand, on the anniversary of the glorious eighth march hand, on the anniversary of the glorious eighth of Jan-uary, by their white brethren, and who proudly march

Sir, what class of your population are more peace able and orderly than the free people of color? Who makes your mobs on your canal lines, and in the construction of your railroads? Who swell your mobs in your beer gardens, and in your Sunday excursions? Who make your Native and Anti-Native American mobs? Your Forrest and Macready mobs, which the military have to be called out to put down? I am Anti-Slavery cause, on both sides of the Atlantic,

carried to prison, there to await their trial, before sure, not the colored people! Not the native-born this same Judge Cadwallader, for violating the Fugi- Americans who have tilled your soil in times of war. tive Slave law! Mark you, they may go into the and whose reward has been disfranchisement and court-room as prisoners, but not as spectators! They may not have an opportunity of hearing the law expean immigrants of yesterday—men who can't speal pounded, but they may be punished if they make your language, and don't respect your laws. These hemselves chargeable with violating it!

are the people who are invested with all the franchises
Sit, people talk of the bloody code of Draco, but I of the country, including that of trampling on the assert, without fear of intelligent contra- black man. These are the people who are, at the diction, that, all things considered, that code was same time, the most turbulent and most insolent class mild, that code was a law of love, compared with the of the whole American population. I am not what is books of this modern Democratic, Christian Republic! ing a man's rights either by the place of his birth of I said that a man of color might not be a commander the color of his skin. I believe in the equal nature of the humblest craft that sails in your American rights of all men; and hence it is that I protest waters. There was a man in Philadelphia, the other day, who stated that he owned and sailed a schooner favor of a stranger and foreigner against a native-born between that city and different ports in the State of American, against whom no charge can be made Maryland—that his vessel had been seized in the town except that of the complexion which the Almighty

ligation, the case was decided in his favor. But by that talks loudly about equal rights, and at the same same time, that I am not a Republican. I could no Sir, look for a moment at the detestable meanness be a member of the Republican party if I were so dis of this country! What was the cause of your war posed; I am disfranchised; I have no vote; I am put of the Revolution? The tyrannical doctrine of taxa- out of the pale of political society. The time was in a negro. It was a black man's blood that was the Democracy have taken away from me that right. the war of 1812, what class of your inhabitants man who, a year ago, put up nearly four hundred showed themselves more unselfishly loyal and patri- human beings on the block in Georgia, and sold them otic than the free people of color? None, sir. In to the highest bidder-your Pierce Butlers disfran into companies, and vied with their more favored ever. I am taxed to support a government which fellow-citizens in the zeal of their efforts to guard takes my money and tramples on me. But, sir, I and protect the city. In Louisiana their bravery and would not be a member of the Republican party if i encomiums from General Jackson, the commander- a party that styles itself emphatically the 'whit in-chief of the Southern army. Listen to the lan- man's party'? How could I, an Abolitionist, belong slavery party? The Republicans may be, and doubt less are, opposed to the extension of slavery, but they are sworn to support, and they will support, slaver Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessings. A Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands and brothers, you are summoned to rally around the where it already exists. Sir, elect Wm. H. Seward and equitable government. As fathers, husbands and brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in structions: let us have something practical; give us existence. Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without remunerating you for the services rendered. Franklin Pierce, and we will have an irrepressible followers research. be led away by conflict that all men can see and understand—a conwithout remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. With the sincerity of a soldier, and in the language of truth, I address you.

To every noble-hearted free man of color, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounts, in money and lands, now received by the surface of the same day 800,000 human beings!

No. sir. I am not a Republican. I can never ion a

No, sir, I am not a Republican. I can never join ounty, in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States—namely, one nundred and twenty-four dollars in money and one the country. This is what your Bateses and Wades the country. This is what your Bateses and Wades, Blairs, Doolittles and Greeleys are now doing. It is true they talk of doing it with our 'own consent. Ives.

Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen But what of that? Let it once be settled in the publie mind that we ought to leave the country, and it will not be long till measures are taken to compel us to leave. It is the old spirit of African Colonizati revived under a new name; it is the old snake with a new skin-nothing more, nothing less. Sir, what anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our right have Republican leaders to be plotters for the country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to desire to leave, but who, on the contrary, have exright have Republican leaders to be plotters for the the manner of enrolments, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

ANDREW JACKSON,

ANDREW JACKSON, Colonization was first proposed, a public meeting of ladelphia was called to ex pening of the campaign. Now hear him at its close: press their sentiments in regard to the measure. My honored father-in-law, the late James Forten, presided

cessful cultivators of the we, their descendants, feel ourselves entitled to par-ticipate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat enriched; and that any meas-

premises, because we make no pretensions to special interest in or liking for the African race. We love o'The enemy approaches, his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united; all contention has ceased among them; their only dispute is who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most giory, its noolest reward. By order,

THOS. BUTLER, Aid-de-Camp.

'THOS. BUTLER, Aid-de-Camp.' peace. They have tilled your soil; their labor, South ward the Equator, or join their brethren in lineage in

or useful class, take them as a whole, is not to be I say that any man who can thus gratuitously express and in the country. What is the testimony of your his dislike for an oppressed race, and thus wantonly Baltimore Slaveholders' Convention - a convention disregard their feelings, however much of a politica blacks of Maryland as a nuisance that ought to be ments of a man and the instincts of a true gentleabated, either by their expulsion from the State, or man. Mr. Greeley and other Republican leaders in their reduction to slavery? What was the testimony the party seem disposed to put this Colonization proof that convention of the enemies of the black man? ject into their creed, or make it a plank in their plat Why, that they were not a nuisance, but a useful class form. Let them do so, and they will sink their party of the population, adding much to the wealth and so deep in the abyss of perdition that the trump of the prosperity of the State, and that their expulsion would angel Gabriel would not bring it to a resurrection be both impolitic and inhuman ! The same testimony, Sir, have these men, who talk thus flippantly about extract from the New Orleans Picayune, of like testi- not eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same Our free colored population form a distinct class weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the Our free colored population form a distinct class weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the from those elsewhere in the United States. Far from being antipathetic to the whites, they have followed in their footsteps, and progressed with them, with a commendable spirit of emulation, in the various branches of industry most adapted to their sphere. Some of our best mechanics and artisans are to be found among the free colored men. They form the great majority of carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, &c., the colored man, look at that noble martyr and saint emigration from this scommunity would the colored man, look at that noble martyr and saint, tended with some degree of annoyance; the immortal hero of Harper's Ferry! Johu Brown while we count them, in no small numbers, excellent believed what he professed, and practised what he be-musicians, jewellers, goldsmiths, tradesmen and mer-

He nobly acted what he nobly thought,
And sealed by death the lessons which he taught. He believed that the black man was a man, and he

s. Who can look at the noble hero, and see him stoop on lime consistency? Sir, the Anti-Slavery cause is onward; its doctrines are destined to triumph in this country; and no party can succeed that refuses to ac-knowledge it. Slavery will be abolished in this land, and with it, that twin relic of barbarism, prejudice against color. (Loud applause.)

THE PRESIDENT-It is no mere form of rhetorica spression, it is no idle compliment, to say that the ago, lifted up her voice in behalf of the oppressed—a voice which electrified the hearts of thousands, and enlisted them for life in the Anti-Slavery cause; and he imploringly asks-

in the person of Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

SPEECH OF RUZABETH CADY STANTON.

Resolved, That the crowning excellence and glory plore the universe for facts and thoughts to feed the of the anti-slavery enterprise is that, while its first grand design is the redemption of the Ethiopian of the South from chattel bondaye, it is also, through the genius and power of Eternal Ttruth, liberating and elevating universal humanity above all the behests of elevating universal humanity above all the behests of filled with joy to find himself on land once more. Custom, creed, conventionalism or constitution, wherever they usurp unrighteous authority over the individual soul; and thus, while our first care is the emancipation of the Southern slave, we are, under the Divine economy, at the same time working out our own salvation, and hastening the triumph of Love and Liberty over all forms of oppression and cruelty, throughout the earth.

As we rejoice this day in our deliverance from the sad train of fears and errors that have so long crippled and diverged the greatest minds of earth—as we thank

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN AND LADIES: This is generally known as the platform of one ideafrue, but the most casual observation of this whole that is negro slavery. In a certain sense this may be anti-slavery movement, of your lives, conventions, human family, irrespective of nation, color, easte or question of religion, philanthropy, political economy, Such are the various phases of the question you are rights, we find out the exact limits of our own, for whole system of government.

man in Africa, and set him to work in the rice swamps of Georgia; but when we look at the panorama of Law, the immutable principles of right, are all and horrors that followed that event, at all the statute everything to us. laws that were enacted to make that act legal, at the See to it, you who have the best interests of our our Northern Senators dumb in their seals; yes, be- wrong

weary bondage, his chains have not yet melted in the eternity. the human soul! I have always regarded Garrison 'Union meetings' that can effectually keep off dis warfare with the deadly sins of both Church and so deadly to all national virtue and strength. State. My own experience is, no doubt, that of many | Eloquently and earnestly as noblé men have others. In the darkness and gloom of a false theology, nounced slavery on this platform, they have been bondage, when, for the first time, I met Garrison in scribe the general features of that infernal system London. A few bold strokes from the hammer of his the horrors of the African slave trade, the agonizi can appreciate the joy of a doubting soul suddenly traffic, the cruel severing of family ties, the hopeless the indelible scars, the festering wounds, the deep to degradation. Herein is woman more fully iden

good have hovered over them, and rejoiced in these him children, and minister to his sickly lust. true sons of earth. Yes, this is the only organization on God's footstool where the humanity of woman long ago, I chanced to speak of the injustice done to is recognized, and these are the only men who have ever echoed back her cries for justice and equality. heart should go out in thankfulness that you are as I shall never forget our champions in the World's American woman, for in no country in the world Anti-Slavery Convention; how nobly Phillips did does woman hold so high a position as here. Why, speak, and how still more nobly Garrison would not sir, said I, you must be very ignorant, or very false

has been more indebted to woman than to man. It Think of a World's Convention, and one half the was Elizabeth Heyrick, of immortal memory, who world left out! Shame on the women of this nation, taught Wilberforce and Clarkson how to lay the who help to swell the cry of 'INFIDEL' against men axe at the root of the tree, and to make no comprolike these! All time would not be long enough to mise with slavery. It was a gifted young woman in pay the debt of gratitude we owe these noble men, this country, Elizabeth M. Chandler, who, many years who spoke for us when we were dumb, who roused us

though she has gone to another world, she being ment is not to the African slave alone, but to the dead, yet speaketh.' In one of her beautiful poems slaves of custom, creed and sex, as we ; and most faithfully has it done its work. To appreciate the Shall we behold, unheeding, life's holiest feelings magnitude and benevelence of its mission, look for a When woman's heart is bleeding, shall woman's voice at what an abject, hopeless slave man has ever been to this worst of tyrants! Behold how long, through ig There are two millions of women in this country who norance, he crouched before the wonders of the solar are made marketable property, articles of merchan- system—the sun, the moon, the stars, the convulsion dise. I present to you, on this occasion, as the next of nature, the accidents by sea and land, pestilene speaker, a noble woman, who will come here to speak and famine; how long, in the follies and vices of man, not only for her sex, but for your liberty and mine, he has seen the finger of God. In fact, we are but just now emerging from the savage idea that God is the special patron of all human calamities-of war, slavery, and governments of violence and force. Who Mrs. STANTON, on rising, was greeted with loud and that sees a mind oppressed with the traditions of ages, nearty applause. She read the following resolution, in its first agonizings for life, and love and law, would as containing the thought which she was anxious to dare to obstruct its mission? Who would check its urge upon the attention of those whom she was about earnest longings with the cry, Behold a mystery? Who would bound its hopes, or deny its rights to ex

> law alone? The weary traveller, long tossed about at sea, filled with joy to find himself on land once more

soul upon, or to find comfort, if it may, in one great

and dwarfed the greatest minds of earth-as we thank the Lord that we are not Hindoos, Hottentots, Mohammedans, or New York Observer Christians, let us

for each of us in the future. public speeches and journals, show this one idea to be The last fear from which man may hope delivergreat humanitarian one. The motto of your leading organ, 'The world is my country and all mankind did the immortal John Brown arrive. He feared my countrymen, proclaims the magnitude and unirersality of this one idea, which takes in the whole the future was bright and beautiful to him, for he had done the will of his Father, and with joy he sex, with all their interests, temporal and spiritual—a went out out to meet him. How grand, how calmly dignified, were his last days on earth! In his nobl merce, education and social life on which depends generosity and self-sacrifice, in his divine love for the very existence of this republic, of the state, of the right and justice and humanity, how like a god he family, the sacredness of the lives and property of Northern freemen, the holiness of the marriage relation, and the perpetuity of the Christian religion. American citizen insensible to the holy grandeur of his life and death. Noble John Brown! thou wert such are the various phases of the question you are wont to debate in your conventions. They all grow out of and legitimately belong to that so-called petty. I ask no higher honor in the gift of this nation for out of and legitimately belong to that so-called petty, insignificant, annoying subject, which thrusts up its any sons of mine than a gallows and a grave like head everywhere in Church and State—the eternal thine! As these sons now gather round me, and nigger.' But in settling the question of the negro's ask questions about different nations, governments and laws, think you it is with pride I read to the rights never clash or interfere; and where no individual in a community is denied his rights, the mass are cisions on great questions of human rights? Ah, no! the more perfectly protected in theirs; for whenever Mr. President, it is with the deepest sorrow that I any class is subject to fraud or injustice, it shows that the spirit of tyranny is at work, and no one can tell that I unveil to them our falsehood and hypocrisy, where or how or when the infection will spread. The in the face of those grand and glorious declaration health of the body politic depends on the sound con- of freedom and equality which, when first prodition of every member. Let but the finest nerve or weakest muscle be diseased, and the whole man suffers; just as the humblest and most ignorant citizen It is all-important, in a republican government, that cannot be denied his rights without deranging the our laws be always on the side of justice. Here, where we have neither Pope nor King, no royal fam-It was thought a small matter to kidnap a black ily, crown or sceptre, no nobility, rank or class, noth

perversion of man's moral sense and innate love of Republic in your care, that your laws keep pace with justice in being compelled to defend such laws; when public sentiment. If you would have us teach our we consider the long, hard tussle we have witnessed sons a sacred reverence for law, so frame your conhere for near a century between the spirit of Liberty stitutions and your codes that, in yielding obedience and Slavery, we may, in some measure, appreciate the to their requirements, they are not false to the holy magnitude of the wrong done to that one lone, friend- claims of humanity—that they degrade not the mothess negro, who, under the cover of darkness and the ers who gave them life. No one can be more awake star-spangled banner, was stolen from his African hut than I am to all the blessings of a republican form of and lodged in the hold of the American slaver. That government, nor, as a mother, more apprehensive lest one act has, in its consequences, convulsed this Union. her sons should confound liberty with license. Here, It has corrupted our churches, our politics, our press; where individual responsibilities are so great, and the laid violent hands on Northern freemen at their own firesides; it has gagged our statesmen, and stricken them lovers of law and order, and meekly to suffer neath the flag of freedom, Liberty has crouched in when the panting fugitive throws bimself on our generosity and hospitality, I dare not check the That grand declaration of rights made by WILLIAM noble, God-given impulses of their natures to place LLOYD GARRISON, while yet a printer's boy, was on a the man above all law. Yes, I must ever teach then far higher plane than that of '76. His was uttered that man alone is divine; his words and works are with the Christian's view of the dignity of man, the fallible; his institutions, however venerable with age value of the immortal being; the other but from the and authority, his constitutions, laws and interpretaself-respect of one proud race. But, in spite of noble tions of Holy Writ, may all prove false. That alone words, deeds of thirty years of protest, prayers and is sacred that can fully meet the wants of the im preaching, slavery still lives, the negro toils on in his mortal soul-that can stand the test of time and

intense heat of the sun of righteousness; but in the On this platform are the only wise conservatives of discussion of this question, in grappling with its foes, the nation, the only men who would compel obedience how many of us have worked out our salvation; to the laws by bringing them into harmony with the what mountains of superstition have been rolled off everlasting principles of right. These are the only as the great missionary of the gospel of Jesus to this lution, by dispelling that dangerous miasma of slaguilty nation, for he has waged an uncompromising very, which has ever proved so fatal to republicanism

I was slowly sawing off the chains of my spiritual able to take only an objective view. They can detruth, I was free! Only those who have lived all their sufferings of the middle-passage, the auction-block lives under the dark clouds of vague, undefined fears, the slave-pen and coffle, the diabolism of the internal born into the kingdom of reason and free thought. degradation of woman; all that is outward they can Is the bondage of the priest-ridden less galling than see; but a privileged class can never conceive the feelthat of the slave, because we do not see the chains, ings of those who are born to contempt, to inferiority, degradation of all the powers of the God-like mind ; tified with the slave than man can possibly be, for she To Garrison we owe, more than to any other one can take the subjective view. She early learns the man of our day, all that we have of religious freedom. misfortune of being born an heir to the crown of But for him, I doubt whether our Cheevers, our thorns, to martyrdom, to womanhood. For while Beechers, would have yet found backbone enough to the man is born to do whatever he can, for the woman stand where they now do; for when he first called and the negro there is no such privilege. There the American Church to its awful reckoning, it was is a Procrustean bedstead ever ready for them, body as dead as the twelve apostles of solid silver which and soul, and all mankind stand on the alert so re-Cromwell melted into coin, and sent through the Eng. strain their impulses, check their aspirations, fette lish nation to do the will of their master. their limbs, lest, in their freedom and strength, in I do not believe all history affords another such ex- their full development, they should take an even ample as the so-called 'Garrisonian Conspiracy' platform with proud man himself. To you, white a body of educated men of decided talent, wealth, man, the world throws wide her gates; the way is rank and position, standing for a quarter of a century clear to wealth, to fame, to glory, to renown; the battling a whole nation, Church and State, law and high places of independence and honor and trust are public sentiment, without the shadow of ever waver- yours; all your efforts are praised and encouraged, ing, turning or faltering, as if chained to the great all your successes are welcomed with loud hurrahs Gibraltar-truth of human freedom and equality. This and cheers; but the black man and the woman are unheard-of steadfastness can only be accounted for born to shame. The badge of degradation is the skin in the fact that woman too is represented in this 'con- and sex-the 'scarlet letter' so sadly worn upon the spiracy. Yes, the Marys and the Marthas have gath- breast. Children, even, can define the sphere of the ered round the prophets of our day. With noble black man, and the most ignorant Irishman hiss him words and deads, and holy sympathy, they have cheer. into it, while striplings, mere swaddlings of law and words and decue, and not sympathy, they have cheer-ed their exile from the love and honor of their own false countrymen. At their family alters they have been remembered, and unseen spirits of the brave and ingly of her holy mission to cook him meat, and bear In conversation with a reverend gentleman, no

woman. Ah! said he, so far from complaining, you peak, because woman was there denied her rights. Is my political position as high as that of Victoria, inch beyond our own ignorance and mistake; we are

Queen of the mightiest nation on the globe; not nearly two millions of native-born women, at this very hour, doomed to the foulest s women, at this very wept to witness? Are they not ubly damned as immortal beasts of burden in doubly damned as immorran vessus of burden in g field, and sad mothers of a most accursed race; A they not raised for the express purposes of lunt they not chained and driven in the slave-come at the they not channed and unfeeling driver? Are they not sold on the auction-block? Are they not e posed naked to the coarse jests and voluptr brutal men? Are they not trained up in ign of all laws, both human and divine, and denied ! of all laws, total right to read the Bible? For them there is no 8al bath, no Jesus, no Heaven, no hope, no holy in of wife and mother, no privacy of home, not sacred to look for, but an eternal sleep in death a the grave. And these are the daughters and sister of the first men in the Southern States! fathers and brothers selling their own flesh on auction-block, exposing beautiful women of refine ment and education in a New Orleans market, and selling them, body and soul, to the absolute w of the highest bidder! And this is the con woman in republican, Christian America, and pries dare not look me in the face, and tell me that, for blessings such as these, my heart should go out i thankfulness! No, proud priest, you may ence your soul in holy robes, and hide your manhood in a pulpit, and, like the Pharisce of old, turn your face away from the sufferings of your race; but I am a Christian-a follower of Jesus-and what done unto one of the least of these my sisters is done also unto me.' Though, in the person of the poor trembling slave mother, you have bound me with heavy burthens, most grievous to bear-though you have done all you could to quench the spark of im mortality, which, from the throne of God, quickened me into being-though you have left me no vehicle of thought-though you have made the letters of Cadmus, the whole English language, as dead to me as Egyptian hieroglyphics, yet can I still talk with God From majestic rivers and mighty forests I have learned his power, while gentle murmuring waters and the music of the woods have told me of his love. Yes outside of my sad, hard slave life, in gay flowers and songs of happy birds, in the spicy breezes and sweet orange groves of my Southern home, I sometimes feel the pulsations of the great heart of God. H. comes to me in all his works. I have worshipped him in the glorious sun, and moon, and stars, and laved my soul in their silent majesty and beauty. I have asked the everlasting hills, that in their upward yearnings seem to touch the heavens, if I, an immortal being, though clothed in womanhood, was made for the vile purposes to which proud Saxo man has doomed me, and in solemn chorus they all chanted NO! I have turned my eyes within; I have have asked this bleeding heart, so full of love to God and man, so generous and self-sacrificing, ever long ing for the pure, the holy, the divine, if this graceful form, this soft and tender flesh was made to crawl and shiver in the cold, foul embrace of Southern tyranta and, in stiffed sobs, it answered, NO! Thank you, oh Christian priests, meekly I will take your insults, taunts and sneers. To you my gratitude is due for all the peculiar blessings of slavery, for you have had the morals of this nation in your keeping. Behold the depths into which you have plunged me-the bottom less pit of human misery! But perchance your head grows dizzy to look down so far, and your heart faint to see what torture I can bear! It is enough!

But, Mr. President, I rejoice that it has been given to woman to drink the very dregs of human wre edness and woe. For now, by an eternal law of matter and of mind, when the reaction comes, upward and upward, and still upward, she shall rise, Behold how far above your priestly robes, your bloody altars, your foul incense, your steepled synagogues she shall stand secure on holy mounts, mid clouds of dazzling radiance, to which, in your gross vision, you shall not dare even to lift your eyes! (Applause.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESO. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., was then introduced as

the last speaker of the morning. He said :-MR. PRESIDENT-I can very sincerely say that I stand with a great deal of pleasure upon this platform this morning. I think we have very peculiar reason for rejoicing over the position and prospects of the anti-slavery movement. The sky looks clear; the picture seems bright. I am not sure whether there is much necessity for holding such a meeting as this; perhaps we hold too many. Having just finished a Society at Charleston, (laughter and applause,) and looking forward to another interesting debate at Chicago next week, by other agents and servants of this Society, (renewed merriment,) perhaps we do wrong in wearying the people by filling up this interval with a meeting of our own. Still, after all, I suppose it is necessary that we also, in unmistakable tone, should express our opinion about current events. I am glad to stand here, therefore; glad at the presence of those who stand with us. I think we have heard the John Brown of the American pulpit this morning (loud applause); and I should be disposed to say, with Mrs. Browning,

## Shout for the good sword's ring !

Shout for the thought still truer I go for the sword; but I go for the thought which ploughs deeper and lasts longer than the sword-blade a reading and thinking nation like ours.

I have, I think, a right to call my predecessor the John Brown of the American pulpit; for the 'Church of the Puritans' is in insurrection to-day. (Loud laughter and applause.) Union Square is the Harper's Ferry of the moral conflict (renewed applause) and the vulture of American Congregationalism is to swoop upon him as the vulture of the American Union swooped upon the heroes of Charlestown an Harper's Ferry, five or six months ago. I am glad he comes here, and-like kindred drops mingling into one - that when the American pulpit denounced righteousness, righteousness gravitates toward the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society. (Applause.) The only trouble is, in gleaning after such

respers, to find anything to say.

But the sky grows bright. We have had a great many dissolutions of the Union. The Methodists divided North and South awhile ago; the Missionary Society is broken in pieces-we have two or three claimants for public sympathy and support; the Tract Society has a fragment at Boston and a fregment at New York. Everything is breaking, and at last the great Democratic party has broken too. (Laughter and loud cheering.) She has found out that slavery had a right everywhere. She hated the Republican motto, 'Freedom national, slavery set tional'; she had her motto, 'Slavery everywhere and the counterpart is, Democracy nowhere.' (Great merriment.) It reminds me of the story an Eastern traveller tells us of a bear in Northern Asia, wh went into a woman's hut when she had just taken of the boiling tea-kettle; and, smelling round with his nose, he touched the hot iron. Angry at the offence offered to his nervous system, the bear clasped the kettle; the more it burned him, the more he howled; and the more he howled, the tighter he clasped it; and so he died. The Democratic party clasped slavery everywhere; and the more it has ruined it, the more it has clasped it, and the more it has howled; (laughter;) and it will die with the hot doctrine in its arms. (Applause.) What says the other party? How much does it

say? Why, Mr. Seward has found out a new name for the conflict—an 'irrepressible conflict'; and has found out a new name for the parties. Mark you! anything; we are we are fanatics; we don't know head over heels with our passions; we can't see an

rsman who there is an vir. Between labo that? An irre and the stomach tween labor an party; this is Words party. highest use wa The history of Why, that the One-two-thre aggression. W woman once a why is it that m said the learne sum of his logi are born withou I am so glad I had asked my cause they is." emount of that sis; no piercin North afraid Union valuable when a keen goes down to th Senate chamb this Republica (Cries of Sha meetings as ou rectionists agai all all they th nothing but se do nothing b suppose men morbid bittern things have be which we sprin and the scorn Covenanters, a

MAY

mere boys me

We may buy our duty at su ublic receives for the Preside remorseless dis I agree with which he has l Empire to ave government b cording to the stitution, neith court under re one shadow of

commit for c

to these State

brought the k

and eating all

Tudors and th

It is a relic

servile indiffer

members of th

moment. The

its sessions by does, into the jury. If he l the courts are for his trial, t and no Repu Court, sitting the State, poss usurpation, a publican citize race, as well o upon this first torial usurpat had not had chances of R some effort to even than cha

You may sa

of Republican

so. Slavery is

the very mach

through a the

more powerfu

have thought

that they sho John Randolp weak in Virgi chasing his me ing to avoid h slavery steppe another half down the del curbed in the itself. But i agent and agr ing to renew of Georgia, a give a result worn-out soi covery like t argument us tone in the s rear for a qu tack can be r

does not deno

abolition as

higher level

ciple of thir

a total, an

(Loud applan It is said t have unnece attacked it. American pu one Doctor o ing, South C her spaniel Political pr his hearers fate of the m was preachis morning, wi streets of Je text an extra ter) of that r litical and so lows in his same thing. to the New

litical pamph ject of the si tled this qu better basis When I loo himself up, timid annour me, I sometimes

art of God. He

e worshipped him

stars, and laved

beauty. I have

ens, if I, an im

womanbood, was

human wretcheternal law o l, she shall rise bes, your bloody led synagogues, s, mid clouds of gross vision, von (Applause.) LLIPS, ESQ. n introduced, as e said :-

erely say that I pon this platform peculiar reasons prospects of the looks clear; the re whether there meeting as this; g just finished a of the American d applause,) and sting debate at and servants o perhaps we do lling up this in-Still, after all, I in unmistakable at current events. glad at the pre-I think we have rican pulpit this ould be disposed ring! truer!

e thought which the sword-blade y predecessor the for the Church to-day. (Loud uare is the Harnewed applause); gationalism is to of the American Charlestown and o. I am glad he ps mingling into ites toward the ery Society. (Apaning after such lave had a great The Methodists; the Missionary

we two or three d support ; the oston and a frag-is breaking, and has broken too. as found out that e hated the Real, slavery secry everywhere' owhere.' (Great story an Eastern thern Asia, who ad just taken of round with his ry at the offence more he howled; r he clasped it; arty clasped slaas ruined it, the it has howled; hot doctrine in

w much does it out a new name nflict'; and has es. Mark you! ything; we are we can't see an mistake; we are

boys-madmen-atrong-minded women, medman who instructs us how to think. Well, tareman who irrepressible conflict.' Between what? en labor and capital. Where did he find Between 14 or irrepressible conflict' between the lungs the stomach; an 'irrepressible conflict' between the fir and the lungs. An 'irrepressible conflict belabor and capital'! And is that statesman-Yet this is the doctrine of the Republican this is the statesmanship of the Republican Words mean a great deal, and that speech leriakes to use words as Talleyrand told us their highest use was-to conceal thought. What is the ause, according to Mr. Seward, of all this difficulty history of the Union-what is the cause of it Why, that the North was afraid of losing the Union yor, the three-he traces every act of Southern ssion. Why did it succeed? Because the North afraid of losing the Union. A compassionate as airsid of lossing the doctor, you know, 'Doctor, why is it that men are born dumb?' 'Well, madam,' said the learned physician, gathering up the whole um of his logic, 'the reason of that is, that children are born without speech.' (Laughter.) 'Well, now, 1sm so glad I asked you, said she. 'I suppose if I had asked my husband, he would have said, "Betause they is." (Renewed laughter.) That is the mount of that speech. No explanation; no analyis; no piercing into the real causes that make the as; no post of losing the Union, or making the Union valuable, or its sunderance hazardous. No: when a keen question, like an earthquake rift, that goes down to the very heart of the nation, enters the mate chamber, in the person of Thaddeus Hyatt, this Republican statesman goes out of the door, (Cries of . Shame.') Is there no need, then, of such neetings as ours? Is there not need of men, insuretionists against Church and State, bold at least to tell all they think and fear? Suppose men say we do othing but scold our neighbors; suppose men say we do nothing but exhaust the vocabulary of abuse; suppose men say we do nothing but manifest the morbid bitterness of our own envious spirits; such hings have been said before. The old party from which we spring bore the same calumny in their day; vet they saved England and survived, gibbeted to evering contempt in the undying satire of Hudibras, and the scorn of belies lettres ever since; and, like the

bought,
Stem rushing upon Clavers' spears,
The freedom and the scorn of after years.'

Covenanters, as the Scotch poet says :-

We may buy it too; but whether we buy it or not, our duty at such hours as this is to see that the Republic receives no detriment, no matter whose chances for the Presidency are perilled by the discussion, the remorseless discussion, of the question which the hour

I agree with Dr. Cheever utterly in the opinion which he has been almost the first in this city of the Empire to avow, in regard to this doctrine of contempt. No man who understands the nature of our overnment but would see, in a moment, that, according to the whole spirit of the United States Constitution, neither in the Senate as a Court, nor in any court under republican institutions, does there abide one shadow of this despotic usurpation, the right to commit for contempt. We did not bring it over these States. We no more brought it than we brought the king's privilege of taking your houses, and enting all you have, without paying for it, as the Indors and the Stuarts did for hundreds of years. It is a relic of despotism, which nothing but the servile indifference or the timidity of the Republican members of the Senate ever allowed to exist for a ment. The Senate has a right, if a man disturb is sessions by unseemly noise, to put him out; when he is out of that hall, he falls, as every criminal does, into the hands of the police and the grand If he has offended the laws of this country, courts are open, indictment is ready, a petit jury for his trial, the State's prison for his punishment; and no Republican Legislature, and no Republican Court, sitting under the Constitution of the Union or the State, possess any power beyond that. It is an usurpation, a dangerous usurpation; and every reblican citizen who does not wish slavery to be no onger a matter of color, but to cover us, the Saxon even than chattel slavery itself.

You may say that I use strong language, speaking of Republican shortcomings. I do, and I mean to do so. Slavery is no superficial evil, that is to be killed in a moment, or by a single blow. It is grouted into the very machinery of the State; it strikes its roots through a thousand strata, and is as powerful, and more powerful, than the Union itself. Many men have thought they saw it dying, and have supposed that they should survive it, and been disappointed. John Randolph said, thirty years ago, Slavery is so hasing his master for a support, and the master tryig to avoid his slave.' After he made the prophecy, lavery stepped over the Mississippi, stole new lands upon which to plant itself, and took a new lease for mother half century. To-day, Republicanism lays down the delusive principle, that if slavery can be cented in the Territories, and confined to the wornout soil of Virginia and the Carolinas, it will die of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of
it.' (Loud applause.) Would to God that the prejudices of the last tent out of curbed in the Territories, and confined to the worn-

al pamphlet, suited to the meridian of Jerusalem If the Church had given us her doctrine on the sub-

what it is, that, naked and penniless, ignorant and leader knows, that the programme they announce have offered a resolution that the ignorant Senator out of their eyes, the slaveholder or the abolitionis from Virginia be furnished with a copy of Virgil at either believes the lies that they call speeches

whole load of the sin upon our shoulders, it would The Convention then adjourned to meet at 3 o' crush us entirely out, and so I called Washington and clock, in business session. Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Judge Jay to help us bear up the load. He says I do them injustice. All I can say is, that if the Constitution is good, and if At the business meeting of the Society, held at the the present captain and the present crew, with a spot- Cooper Institute, at 3 o'clock, P. M., the chair was less deck and unsullied ship's papers, started on a taken by the President of the Society. cruise, and turned us into such pirates, then the crew and the captain are a great deal worse than I supposed them. If with a spotless Constitution we have taries. got such a Union, where, in the devil's name, should we The question of amending the Constitution, in con have been if we had had a bad Constitution? (Laughter and loud cheers.) I think the fault is in the Constitution, and that the sons have been merely moving proposed amendments are as follows:in the channel and rut that the fathers made for them; it is in our blood; that this constitutional principle of compromising is not only constitutional in the sense of the American parchment, but it is physically our constitution. The North and the South, on this other of places we will be the presentation of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State, and by making the word 'It,' which follows the words above quoted, the beginning of a sentence. subject of slavery, are like two boys that went out in Boston on election day. One said, 'How much money has your father given you?' 'He has given &c. 'The object of this Society is,' &c. money has your rather given you: "He has given here, as well as the negro, is bound to put his foot apon this first and most atrocious instance of Senatorial usurpation. (Loud cheers.) If the Tribune had not had its heart eaten out by the miserable that we should put our culture, wealth, thrift, enterances of Republican success, it might have made that we should put our culture, wealth, thrift, entered, nem con. chances of Republican success, it might have made before to give the key-note to the Northern prise, righteousness, Christianity, into this rotten. The second amendment was then unanimously

press in regard to this outrage on citizenship, broader partnership of a slave Democracy, and we agreed to the event than chattel slavery itself.

The section of the secti friend asks, with an eloquence all his own, 'Who can Chair, and elected, a Committee to nominate officers friend asks, with an eloquence all his own, 'Who can believe that Washington ever let them foist into the Constitution of the United States that damnable provision to bring back a fugitive slave?' Well, I do not know that he did; but I know that when it was not know that he did; but I know that when it was the consented to its being.

Chair, and elected, a Committee to nominate the consented to the ensuing year:

J. Miller McKim, of Phiadelphia; Marcus Spring, of New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, of Delaware; G. B. Stebbins, of Michigan; Maria E. Whitcomb, of Consented to its being. there, he used it. Whether he consented to its being necticut; J. Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio; J. H. Stephenfoisted in, I do not know; but after it was in, even son, of Massachusetts; Joseph Post, of New York George Washington—can I speak a purer or a better Joseph Carpenter, of New York. name in that generation ?-even George Washington could send to New Hampshire, (Charles Sumner read John Randolph said, thirty years ago, 'Slavery is so weak in Virginia that I shall yet live to see the slave the letter on the floor of the United States Senate,)

Frothingham, Rev. M. D. Conway, and Rev. Joshus and asked the collector of customs at Portsmouth to bring back to Mount Vernon the slave that had sought the free air of the White hills, and was breathing it contrary to law. But, let it be said, to the immortal honor of the great Virginian, that he added, 'if the attempt to take her back will offend the prejudices of the farmers of New Hampshire, do not attempt to do

face of American life put back the steamer, and returned him to bondage. ('Shame.') Thank God, show his hedge not claim its abilition as a duty, which does not claim its abilition as a duty, which does not claim its abilition as a duty, which does not claim its abilition as a duty, which does not claim its abilition as a duty, which does not demand, on a higher level than expediency, that of Christian principle of thirty millions of people, that they put to it total, an unconditional, and an immediate end! (loud applause.)

It is said that we have claimed too much; that we have unaccessarily invaded the religious world, and attacked it. Do you believe that if thirty thousand American pulpits had preached for three years as this cae Doctor of Divinity has preached to us this morning, south Carolina could whip New York into being har spaniel at Charleston? (Voices—'No!' No!')

Political preaching!' When Christ announced to has hearers his doctrines as to the sinfluiness of the last new so that mining, which the boys had hawked about the last new of that mining, which the boys had hawked about the last new of that mining, which the boys had hawked about the lattest of Jerusalem that very day. He took for his text in extract from The Jerusalem Observer (laughed) that the curve week, and preached on the last political preaching; I go the New Testament, which is nothing but a political preaching of added, 'No exactly Monadnock, shook his head, and faith, you might move a mountain.' Then he glanced up and saw Monadnock, shook his head, and added, 'No exactly Monadnock, but a very large hill.' (Merriment.) Now, I don't think the Democratic party he do minister was once by the same thing. When I want political preaching; I go to he New Testament, which is nothing but a political preaching in the minister of the meritant of the meri e made upon the system of slavery which turned him to bondage. ('Shame.') Thank God, study of the picture I wish to, and can, draw of that

I am glad that I came here so late that it was unnecessary I should say anything in addition to the weighty and grave truth, to the eloquent and stern truth, to which we have listened this morning.

Thank God that better men are crowding us off our truth, to which we have listened this morning.

Thank God that better men are crowding us off our truth, to which will be the case, if that river foldils its mission. Thank God that better men are crowding us off one platform—doing our work better, perhaps, than it is a hard fight; it is a hard fight; it is a brave battle; Mr. Seward knows it, better than you and I do. He does not mean that speech; he means to the consideration, what have we fanatics ever the consideration, what have we fanatics ever the consideration of the co

asked? How much have we ever claimed? Justice? something infinitely deeper. (Applause.) He knows that don't concern us—and this is the disg with what don't concern us—and this. Well, as of the colored race, it came to me, How lacking when he goes into the Presidential chair, if he shall we have been-we, the 'madmen' of the Abolition go there, with that speech in his right hand, he carcusade! We have claimed for the slave, peeled and ries this whole platform in his heart. (Cheers.) He meted out, plundered and wronged for six genera- knows, and every man of his age, (for he has reached tions—we have claimed for the imbruted representa-tive of a race that has made one-half of this nation and more from a sense of duty,) every Republicar friendless, he should go out without fetters. That the Senate is not the purpose of the Northern people, magnificent house, grouted with his blood—those timbers, laid in his toil—that Southern boy's education the Northern people behind it; but that, tion, whipped out of his muscles-that girl's dia- throwing aside these words, surmounting these his nonds, crushed out of his bones-that white race's torical problems, Wm. H. Seward designs, and the culture on the sweat of his brow-that Eden of the Republican party, so far as it has a heart, means to Carolinas and Virginia, the result of his toil-of that grapple slavery, and to strangle it, so soon as they we have asked not one jot nor tittle; but from under can. (Enthusiastic cheering.) Our friend Dr. Chee that avalanche of wickedness, we have only asked ver said, 'Put me in the place of power, and I will liberty to take out the naked, plundered body of the make that Constitution anti-slavery. Yes; make imbruted representative of six generations of bond-him President, and, as Alexander of Russia said to men, and forty thousand pulpits have started back and Madame de Stäel, I am the Constitution, (applause, turned fessil at the atrocity of our claim! (Laughter and, under such a Constitution, neither my friend Mr. and cheers.) If we had asked for justice, we should Garrison nor myself might find any conscientious have said, 'Senator Mason, dressed in homespun, seruples against voting. (Renewed applause.) When disgorge the plunder of your pocket! Throw off that Wm. H. Seward enters the Presidential chair, he stolen dress, and walk out on the plundered pave- means that his portrait, if it lives to posterity, shal ment the naked robber that you were born!' (Tre- go down painted with one hand upon the American mendous cheering.) We should have said to him, eagle, and the other on the jugular vein of the slav when he told Charles Sumner, with laughable ignor- system. (Prolonged and enthusiastic cheering, and ance, that he never heard of Virgil till he came to cries of 'Good!' 'Good!') The fault I find with the Senate, 'Of course not; who ever expected you Republicans is, that they are such children, that to hear of Virgil in benighted Virginia?' Had I they are such infants, as to suppose that, with their stood in the Massachusetts Senator's place, I should past behind them, and with their future looking the public expense; and, in order to facilitate his (Laughter and cheers.) Emerson said, a 'speech i acquisition of knowledge, that it be the Hamiltonian not worth anything that has not a man behind it. edition, where the English line follows the Latin. Do you suppose, when Jefferson Davis and Mr. Ma-(Loud laughter.) But I should have said to the son listened to that speech of William H. Seward. clucated Virginian, 'Free that slave immediately! that they were green enough to believe that they Clothe him; educate him; send him to Yale or to were listening to the opinions of William H. Sew-Harvard; flood his soul with the culture which the best institutions of learning can give him; bring him that they read the New York Herald and the Tribune home, clothe him with broadcloth and velvet, and, so carelessly as to suppose that the silent North waiton your bended knees at his feet, beg him, accepting ed, hushed and anxious, until its vagrant statesman of all you have, to pardon the name of robber that came back from Jerusalem to tell them what to think you have inherited by six generations of disgrace! and to feel, and that, when he came, this useless pa (Loud cheers.) And if the Abolitionists had claimed rade of the dictionary was all the message they ex it all, in the face of thirty millions of people, every pected? Do you suppose that when—paying that line in this inspired book (taking up the Bible) would inestimable price for the gewgaw of the Presidency, have vindicated the title, and stood for the basis (poor man! how bankrupt he will be if he does no of the enterprise. (Renewed applause.) And yet, get it!)-do you think that when his lips, upo when we only claim a flavor, a homocopathic pellet, which the civilized world was waiting, soiled them an almost infinitessimal fraction of the slave's rights, selves by saying that a better man than he, that John press and pulpit, statesmanship and literature cry Brown, was 'justly hung,' the South supposed, for a out, 'The heavens are going to pieces; the earth moment, that the free waters of the Empire State rawns at our feet!' Lo! we are a Christian nation! atood still to hearken to the voice of her statesman, Behold this imbruted infidel, who maintains that the because he thought that the gibbet at Charlestown Bible does not sanction Virginia in selling every sixth was legal and just? No! the South paid him the man, and condemning every sixth woman to prosti- compliment of believing that he lied. (Loud laughte

and applause.) They knew that the statesman of My good friend Dr. Cheever thinks we have another sixteen States must have other metal than that, or sin to answer for; and that is, we libel the American he never could have endowed himself with magnet Constitution. Well, all I can say is, I will share in ism enough to draw sixteen million of hearts. Now the faul thetwist the Americans that are, and the what Mr. Seward cannot say in the Senate, the other Americans that have been. I was afraid, in the present state of American vitality, that if we put the lets the cat out of the bag. (Prolonged cheers.)

TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

The following persons were nominated by the

Mr. May read letters addressed to the Executive Committee, from Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. O. B.

The letter from Mr. Frothingham called out remarks from Mr. Garrison, Oliver Johnson, and Mary

The following letters were voted to be printed :-

LETTER FROM REV. M. D. CONWAY.

and nearer the regular out-and-out Garrisonian plat-form; I never work with the Republicans that I don't have to get on the anxious bench soon afterward, and repent of some sin they have done, and which I feel imputed to me from that party as a federal head. I find myself repeating.

'In Seward's fall We sinned all."

'How much I could say on that Wednesday after-oon! What a good clean breast could I not make

LETTER OF REV. JOSHUA TOUNG.

the many serious objections which lie against buying been here classified under these heads: from the slaveholders their human property. On motion, the following Committees were nomi-

nated and chosen: On Business : Wm. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips Mary Grew, Martha Wright, Oliver Johnson, J. Miller McKim, Jane Elizabeth Jones.

On Finance : Susan B. Anthony, Rowland Johnson, Joshua T. Everett, Giles B. Stebbins, Benjamin Snow, Jr., J. H. Stephenson, James B. Richards. Adjourned to 74 o'clock.

### THE NEW YORK ANNIVERSARY.

have been the best held in many years; superior not the efforts of every class of men diverted from their only in the burning truths enunciated, the errors de- present employments, and concentrated upon the overnounced, and the Christ-like spirit of its criticisms, throw and utter extirpation of slavery.

but in the large attendance, and the unusual interest. The 'Echoes of Harper's Ferry' is already having

slave burdened with a topic so entirely foreign to the freedom. call that brought us together.

I was much surprised that the speaker was not and 116 Washington street.-c. K. w. called to order, and suspect that it was owing to the

Brooklyn, May 14, 1860.

can do nothing but portest, the Independent says that the protesting page, that her reference to the condition of her own sex, (white,) was merely incidental, and, on the protest weakness by declining discussion, and evading truth by the tricks of parliamentary machinery.—c. K. W. on the whole, very natural. The eloquent and concluding portion of the speech, where she makes the case of the slave woman her own, appears to have To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune:

We take the following from the Philadelphia Daily Bulletin, and hope to receive from some of our friends in that city a fuller account of this large and important meeting. We do not hesitate to say that it journals will favor public justice by publishing the above. C. is a jury whose verdict is every way more entitled to respect than that whose decision inflicted an imprisonment on William Still, for the performance of what he deemed an act of conscientious duty to the cause

We are pleased to hear that the Judge, on learning the true character and position of Mr. Still in Philadelphia, terminated his imprisonment at the close of five days, although the sentence was for ten.

Resolved, That in the faithful and unflinching discharge of his duty as an employee of a philanthropic society; as a benefactor to the public, by shielding the benevolent from deception through his commendable vigilance and careful, conscientious discrimination of anpretending merit from specious pretension; as a devoted sympathizer and adviser of the hunted and outraged bondmen of this country, we assure him of our hearty sympathy, and our unabated confidence in his integrity of character and fidelity of purpose.

Resolved, That while realizing the importance of tribunals of justice in a civilized country, and while respecting the great privilege pertaining to the legal profession and exercised by members of the same, neither obligations to a client, nor honor, honesty and fair-dealing, justify the sweeping tirades against abolitionists, and the gross perversion of truth and misconstruction of motives, so often indulged in by men who, having drawn largely upon the resources of Anti-Slavery men in times gone by, when they were proud to be thought allied to them through professed unison of sentiment, now make haste to ally themselves to the slavery propagandists of the times.

'ECHOES OF HARPER'S PERRY.' Of Mr. Redrath's book, 'Echoes of Harper's Fer ry,' which was noticed in the briefest manner last week, from want of room, something more should be

The great number of really important and stirring events occurring in our time, (combined with that very imperfect appreciation of moral character in men and in actions which has naturally grown, among New England men, from the peculiar characteristics of our

noon! What a good clean breast could I not make of it!'

LETTER OF REV. JOSHUA YOUNG.

MY DEAR STR: The invitation of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society was very gratifying to me, and the thought that, perhaps, it could return an affirmative answer will explain my not replying immediately. But the extreme uncertainty of being able to fulfil the engagement, for reasons of a private nature, forbid my making it.

My aympathies, let me say, are entirely with the noble men who lead the cause of Human Freedom in this land, and, in my humble way and sphere of duty. I am permitted to share with them the honor (which the world means for dishon: ) put upon the Abolitionist. To make a public profession of my faith, or the Anti-Slavery platform, agreeable to your invitation, would be a privilege indeed.

The rendition of Anthony Burns and Liberty in Kansas cost me the loss of five of the richest families of my parish; and my prayer at the grave of the Puritain hero, John Brown, has threatened literally to shut the door of the church against me—the stockholders' menace giving us, in a new form, the old controversy: Money versus Max.

This will, perhaps, surprise you as a voice from the great Mountains; but you must remember that, after on Harper's Ferry you have probably seen.

No; the time is not past when the man to whom Liberty is a principle must bear the cross. It is only white men's liberty that too many mean, who south freedom most lustily—in Heaven's eye a most godless tyranny! If the poor negro is indeed beneath us, less kindly cared for by Providence than the white man is, then, in Mercy's name, let us have pity one him, and, instead of trampling him down, help him to stand up and to bear his misfortune.

Was there ever an inequity like the white man's oppression of the black!

With sentiments of esteem for the gentlemen of the Committee, whom I hope soon to know personally, I remain, dear in, yours for humanity.

JOSHUA YOUNG.

To Samuel May, Jr.,

For Committee of American Anti-Slavery Society.

To Samuel May, Jr.,
For Committee of American Anti-Slavery Society. mind the need of constant aggression against slavery Two interesting cases of women, one a mulatto, the until it shall be utterly exterminated. He has apother to appearance perfectly white, both laboring to collect money for the purpose of redeeming relatives Geffrard, President of the Republic of Hayti. And from slavery, were laid before the meeting.

Mr. Johnson, Mr. Garrison, and others, spoke of uttered respecting the hero of Harper's Ferry, have

> BUNKER HILL. MOUNT SINAL, Non-Interventionists, Non-RESISTANTS, VOICE OF KANSAS. JOHN BROWN'S PRISON LETTERS.

DEATH OF SAMSON. We all need these reminders. We need to attain a full realization of the truth, that no one thing in our country is so important as the extermination of slavery. Its continuance is so pernicious, its influence so perverts every thing that lives in complicity with FRIEND GABRISON - The Anniversary Meetings it, that nothing would so conduce to the permanent just over in New York, are generally conceded to welfare of this country as to have the attention and

manifested; strengthening the strong, encouraging a great circulation. But it should be read, not by the fattering, and bringing forward the backward and tens of thousands only, but by hundreds of thousands Buy it, read it, lend it, talk of it; measure the poli-Thus far I have heard no word of complaint from ticians, of various stripes, who are now trying to talk any genuine anti-slavery person, except in reference about slavery in such a way as to gain votes for themto the address by Mrs. STANTON. Those who agreed selves, by the stature of the just, honest, earnest and with her in reference to the degraded condition of noble soul there described; and instead of voting for the women of our land thought the remarks very any man, Democratic, Republican, or other, to promuch out of place, while those who could not think teet that slavery in Virginia which John Brown as with her, that woman was so shockingly oppressed, sailed, vote for a revolution so radical as to give us a could not but have felt grieved to see the cause of the Constitution fit for the support of lovers of justice and

The book is published by Thayer & Eldridge, 114

respect felt for women that alone prevented it. Had CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER CASES. The Independent re-I been a member of the Society, (I was not at the fuses to print Mr. Wendell Phillips's exposure of its time,) I should have felt it my duty to have done calumnious attacks upon Mr. Garrison. But when so; and as the meeting took no notice of it, I trust the same suppression of free discussion is applied to you will point it out, that it may not occur again. Tract Society uses its power in the same unscrupulous T. T. O. | way to carry its point, and to defeat a minority which

been mistaken by T. T. O., and perhaps others, as referring to the actual condition of the white women of the land! Read, and sec.—Ed. Lib.

SIR: For years past I have given to Wm. S. Bailey, editor of the Free South newspaper, letters asking the friends of liberal opinions in the United States and elsewhere to aid him by pecuniary donations. For reasons satisfactory to myself, I feel it my duty to recall all such letters and recommendations.

C. M. CLAY.

We take the following from the Philadelphia Daily

WHITE HALL, April 30, 1860.

Those who have watched the recent course of Cassius M. Clay, (especially his position towards John G. Fee, Mr. Hanson, and the other Bereans, quoted from a Cincinnati paper in the last Liberator.) will not be surprised at his desertion of so faithful and thoroughgoing a friend of the slave as William S. Bailey. Cassius seems to resemble Henry Ward Beecher in

is instability as much as in his impulsiveness.—c.k.w.

Cassius seems to resemble Henry ward Decener in his instability as much as in his impulsiveness.—c.k.w.

Treducts to William Still. In response to the call for a public meeting of sympathy with William Still, signed by about thirty of our leading colored residents, a large assembly convened at the Israel Church, corner of Fifth and Gaskill streets, last evening. James Bustill was appointed Chairman, Morris Hall, Vice-President, and Parker T. Smith, Secretary. A committee, consisting of Rev. Jonathan C. Gibbs, Benjamin Hill and Isaiah C. Wears, reported the following resolutions, which, after speeches by several persons, were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, our worthy fellow-citizen and coadjutor, Wm. Still, has recently been compelled to submit to fines and imprisonment for performing an unpleasant though important duty, inseparable from his position as an active and zealous laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause and good a citizen—therefore,

Resolved, That in the faithful and unflinching discharge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his duty as an employee of a philianthropic charge of his d

proud to be thought allied to them through professed unison of sentiment, now make haste to ally themselves to the slavery propagandists of the times.

Convention in Iowa. We learn that a Reform Convention, in which the Anti-Slavery Question will be a prominent one, is to be held at DEWITT, Iows, on the fifteenth of June next.

The Washington correspondent of the Boston Traceller writes that Thaddeus Hyatt, confined in the jail at Washington by order of the Senate, for refusing to testify before the Harper's Ferry Investigating Committee, is quite prostrated by the hot weather and the want of proper ventilation in that noisome jail. For a day or two past he has been confined to his bed by

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CON-VENTION.

The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in the (new) MELODEON, in Boston, on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 30th and 31st, commencing on WEDNESDAY, at 10 e'click,

Let this Convention, in numbers, spirit, and tone; equal and exceed those which, with such marked effect upon the public mind and conscience, have preceded it. Let every New England State be fully represented, and let the free voices of the men and w men of New England find clear and full utterance through the Convention.

Friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, from beyond New England, are cordially invited to attend. In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLOUT, Sec'y.

POLITICAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. POLITICAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The undersigned, believing slavery to be the greatest curse of this nation, a crime of the deepest dye, subversive of the rights of the white as well as the black man, tending to debase the moral sentiment of the American people, and to hinder their material advancement, and that it is the duty of every American citizen to give his vote and his influence in uncompromising opposition to this form of oppression, feeling that neither of the political parties at present before the country represent their sentiments, would respectfully but most earnestly invite the friends of freedom to meet in mass Convention at MERCANTILE HALL, Summer street, in this city, on TUESDAY, the 29th inst., at 10 o'clock, A. M., to consider the propriety of forming a

POLITICAL ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY,

POLITICAL ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY,

and to take such other political action as may be deemed advisable.

The question for the decision of the American people is not alone the question of negro bondage. It is also whether they will preserve the liberty their ancestors fought for at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill.

Bunker Hill.

It is whether they will give up those great principles of freedom which gave birth to the Revolution, and which were baptized in the blood of those heroes whose names, 'familiar as household words,' shall live when the Rock of Plymouth and the sterile hills of New England shall have crumbled into dust. It is whether they will incorporate into the national government, the radical principles of the Declaration government the radical principles of the Declaration

government the radical principles of the Declaration of Independence.

It is whether the Constitution of the United States shall become a 'glittering generality,' allowing the base myrmidons of an unscrupulous Slave Power to gag the mouths and outrage the persons of free men with impunity.

It is whether a man, guilty of no crime, shall be thrown into prison for the meanest of party purposes, and whether they will give their support to that vile pro-slavery party which conceived the shameful wrong, or to that other party which so readily assisted in its execution.

It is whether a man's own house shall cease to be a safe asylum in this so-called free land, but may be en-

It is whether a man's own house shall cease to be a safe asylum in this so-called free land, but may be entered with impunity, under false pretences, without the sanction of law, by the miserable tools of a wicked and unscrupulous government.

It is believed that the citizens of this country are not prepared to become slaves, and that they will aid in devising means to meet the present alarming condition of political affairs.

Those opposed to, as well as those in favor of the proposed movement are invited to take part in the discussion, which will continue through the day and evening.

evening.

Able speakers will address the Convention, whose names will be duly announced.

J. W. BROWN, CHAS. W. ELDRIDGE, NATH'L T. ALLEN, ISRAEL LOMBARD, JR., T. C. SEVERANCE.
W. W. THAYER,
BELA MARSH,
E. W. WOOD,
RICH'D S. HINTON. W. W. THAYER, BELA MARSH, E. W. WOOD, Boston, May 14, 1860.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING

PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. The eighth Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends will convene at Longwood, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on First Day, the 3d of the Sixth month, [June,] 1860.

Joseph A. Dugdale, Mary A. W. Johnson, Blizabeth Jackson, Oliver Johnson, Eusebius Barnard, MARY L. BARNARD, MIBIAM C. WORBELL, MARTHA KIMBER, WILLIAM BARNARD, ISAAC MENDENHALL, MARY P. WILSON, JOHN G. JACKSON. SARAH MARSH BARNARD, RUTH DUGDALE,
ALICE JACKSON,
THOMAS WORRELL,
ANNIE M. STAMBACH, M. D. DINAH MENDENHALL

ESSEX COUNTY. The Annual Meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in GEORGETOWN, in the Town Hall, on Sunday, June 3d, commencing at 104 o'clock, A. M. The members of the Society are particularly requested, and all persons are cordially invited, to attend. CHARLES LENOX REMOND, President.

Moses Wright, Secretary.

Town Hall, West Newbury, all day, Sunday, May 20. CHRISTIAN SPIRITUAL CHURCH .-Social Prayer Meeting, at 99 Court street, at Har-monial Institute, every Sunday morning, and Spirit-ual Circles for positive demonstrations, every Thurs-day evening. Seats free.

To The BOSTON COLORED QUARTETTE will give a Concert on Monday Evening, May 21st, in the Twelfth Baptist Church, Southac-street.

Miss H. C. Whitehurst, Soprano; Miss P. A. Whitehurst, Contralto; Mr. G. L. Ruffin, Tenor; Mr. John L. Grimes, Basso. Mrs. C. Howard Da-Grasse will preside at the Piano.

Admission 15 cents. Concert to commence at 8

PROF. E. Z. WICKES, Practical Phrenologist, Editor of the Compass of Life, and founder of the Christian Spiritual Church, will answer calls to lecture upon Christian Spiritualism and the Science of Man, at the Harmonial Institute, 99 Court street,

EF E. H. HEYWOOD will speak at Music Hall, Sunday morning, May 20. Subject— Things which are not versus things that are."

The office of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY The office of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and also that of the Liberators, have been removed from 21 Cornhill to the Washington Building, 221 Washington Street, directly opposite Franklin Street—third story. The change of position is a very desirable one, and the accommodations are more spacious and agreeable.

DIED—In Northampton, May 9th, Mr. Jours Bridgman, aged 60 years. He was a reader of the Liberator from its commencement, and among its early subscribers up to the present time, holding it in the highest estimation. Those who were acquainted with him will testify that he lived a conscientious, honest, upright life, and slways sought to alleviate human suffering, whether near or remote, to the extent of his ability. Nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to render others happy. The Anti-Slavery, Peace and Temperance movements were specially endeared to him, and he gave to them him most zealous support. His shining virtues will long be remembered. We knew him intimately, and placed him high on our list of friends.—Ed. Lib.

WEDDING AND VISITING

CARDS, FASHIONABLY ENGRAVED BY E. A. TEULON.

149 1-2 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON, Directly opposite the Old South Church.

WEDDING BILLETS, 'At Home,' &c. WEDDING ENVELOPES, in great variety. WEDDING CAKE BOXES, new styles. MOURNING NOTE PAPER and ENVELOPES,

May 18. ALL AT VERY LOW PRICES

TO SCHILLER'S MEMORY. From the German of the King of Banaria Naught that is lovely long on earth may stay; It doth not to this lower world belong, But, as on eagle's wings, it soars away! And such are those who own the power of song.

We scarce possess, ere lost, the power divine : Scarce can we call a heavenly bard our own, Ere he has mounted to a brighter clime, And, like a blissful dream, forever flown. Thus Schiller, crowned with never-fading bays,

In better realms his life's reward will find; And now he dwells amidst those glorious rays, Which, e'en on earth, were pictured in his mind. For ever hallowed was his glorious muse:

He never wandered into error's night, But purest love of virtue did diffuse : And now he dwells amid the realms of light. For he has found his Father's house of rest,

And left behind a never-dying fame : At Schiller's name high swells each German breast His, and his country's glory is the same. What he so truly felt and sweetly sung,

Shall still engraven on each heart remain : And blest effects have from his genius sprung, O'er which the tide of time shall roll in vain.

From the Portland Transcript. THE HERO. BY DAYY WELLS. Thank God that all the martyr stuff Hath not been driven from the earth,

That still there lingereth enough To give the stalwart hero birth ! Whence is it that, when ills are rife, There riseth, at the timely hour, Some spirit fit to rule the strife,

And wrest from Sin his vaunted power? Men calmly claim for written thought An inspiration from on high, And say the ready words were wrought To music sweet-they knew not why.

Is not a deed a surer gain Than thought, in closets brooding still? Will not the power that fired the brain Direct alike the hand and will?

God-sent, the hero copes with wrong, God-guided, chooseth he his means: No words of blame to us belong, Let him condemn on whom he lean

While colder natures sit and plan A wiser method, surer laws By which to guide their fellow-man, And wipe away effects and cause; Untrammeled by the lore of time,

Forth steps a soul, fresh-made from God, And planteth down his foot sublime, And crusheth error to the sod.

Success or loss-who can compute? Let praise be still, and judgment dumb, Till we shall see what hidden fruit Will ripen in the years to come.

> From the Dial. THE MAY-FLOWER

The snow still lay in shady dells: Still, nightly, Frost rebuilt his shrines. And though all day in sapphire cells Clepsydral drops rang crystal bells, Chill night-winds moaned among the pines

Yet through the forest sped a sound, As if of Dryad-whispering shrill; A sense seemed crescent in the ground, As if, awaked from sleep profound, The Gnomes were working in each bill

Lo, Spring! with rosebuds in her hair! Light-gloried Faith ! and, as she swept Along the wood-aisles, all the air Took from her robes a perfume rare, And May-flowers marked where she had stepped

Dear Flower! I see the Pilgrim maids First dare the fearful forest's edge : What music fills the astonished glades, What long-lost bloom each cheek pervades, As thee they hail, kind Heaven's fair pledge

And still, when from Spring's soft'ning skies The first rays pierce thy branchy screen, Thy blossoms blush beneath blue eyes; Still joyous laughter hails the prize God sends to keep our memories green.

ODE TO SPRING. WRITTEN IN A LAWYER'S OFFICE. Whereas on sundry boughs and sprays Now divers birds are heard to sing, And sundry flowers their heads upraise-Hail to the coming on of Spring!

The songs of the said birds arouse The memory of our youthful hours, As young and green as the said boughs As fresh and fair as the said flowers. The birds aforesaid, happy pairs!

Love midst the aforesaid boughs enshrines In household nests, themselves, their heirs, O, busiest term of Cupid's court!

When tender plaintiffs actions bring; Season of frolic and of sport, Hail, as aforesaid, coming Spring !- Punch. SPRING.

BY RICHARD C. TRENCH. Who was it that so lately said All pulses in thy heart were dead. Old Earth, that now in festal robes Oh, wrapped so late in winding-sheet. Lo! 'tis an emerald carpet now, Where the young monarch, Spring, may tread. He comes-and, a defeated king, Old Winter, to the hills is fled. The warm wind broke his frosty spear, ] And loosed the helmet from his head And he weak showers of arrowy sleet From his strongholds has vainly sped. All that was alceping is awake, And all is living that was dead. Who listens now can hear the streams Leap tinkling down their pebbly bed-Or see them, from their fetters free, Like silver snakes the meadows thread. The joy, the life, the hope of earth, They slept awhile, they were not dead. O thou who say'st thy sere heart ne'er With verduge can again be spread O thou who mournest them that sleep,

Now lying in an earthy bed-Look out on this reviving world, And be new hopes within thee bred!

## THE LIBERATOR

PUBLIC OPINION. A Lecture delivered in the City of New York BY KARL HEINZEN.

lated for the Liberator from the German by Many L. Boots

[CONCLUBED.]

What are the chief organs, the chief means for Public Opinion to express itself, and make known its dom of the press, and popular suffrage. (In the South, tar and feathers may be added to these.) These

thusiasm, and had scarcely led him in triumph to been asserted by any one that Falstaff's "discretion the White House, when it would have gladly smashed windows, and given him a universal Pereat. It

Give an American the lie without in common life. repeated precisely the same thing with Buchanan. We in meetings, or in the legislative assemblies, and he repeated precisely the same thing with Duchanan. The may draw a parallel between his election and the latest in the Northern States. But on each of these challenge. He regards a lie, therefore, as the greatest

'To such divine authority st every doubt of earthly wisdom bow.'

the means of that 'power' to prove the lie to the object of his choice? In Europe, the bayonet, in Amer- pidity, at whose entrance cowardice stands sentr ica, a bold face, suffices to bid defiance to public in order to guard eternal stagnation. Progress de honor, but has gained money and office, care for Sad is nose whose condition can be changed by a public opinion that gives prejudice the pre- no other fermentation than that of putrefaction ference over reason, and success over princi- The Americans are the pioneers in every primitive ple? A public opinion that has for half a century forest, in every desert, in every territory in the land fit together, and has not yet become clear on the the pieneers in the new dominions of intellectua point, has not yet been able to decide in favor of conquest? Whence comes it that they not only Freedom, and can still be made to incline from side leave the squatters of radicalism alone by themselves to side by every humbugger and knave-to what but also wish to expel them from the territory of in power can such a public opinion pretend against those tellectual union? whom it has established as the protectors of Free- The third word in American life is fair play. dom, knowing them all the while to be the protec-

activity of both the other organs through which it judgment in respect to their true doctrines? receives form and expression—the right of assembly and the freedom of the press. What decides in assemblies? Is it the individual opinion or judgment it that they wish for no intellectual \*manifest desof those who are present? The resolutions that are tiny, that they desire only a new world and no new to express the views of the assembly are usually views of the world? There is a new territory for brought thither ready prepared, and some speech- them to annex, fairer than Mexico and richer than maker, who has brought a number of those present California, namely, the territory of radicalism-radto applaud him, takes care that no dissenting opinion ical, general, logical, universal freedom. And for shall question that which has been beforehand committed to paper. How infallible those resolutions and no murder is needed, but only a little moral are, which appear in the journals as the expression courage, attention and reflection of public opinion in these assemblies, is proved most 
The newspapers style themselves the organs ludierously by the fact that often, (especially in public opinion. Can any one imagine anything more German assemblies,) the same hands which at one inconsistent than this modest pretension, whereby the moment applaud the affirmative, the next instant do journalists seek to make their readers believe that

tem. This makes vaunted public opinion the mere result of this is, that both remain rooted not minds swayed like so many puppets on wires? this country, it is not the individual opinion of the Take away from life the political and ecclesiastical editor that forms the first supposition, but that which party organizations, together with the Societies formed has been already made by the organizations of paron various ideas connected with them, and what will ties, sects, and societies of the trained public. The remain of intellectual life? With what shall the editor enters like a soldier into the rank-and-file of true freedom of the press in reality occupy itself? the standing army of opinion. The paper repeats to Did the freedom of speech furnish the necessary ma- the party what it has heard from them, and the party terial and judgment, there would not be a single repeats in turn what the paper has told them. Within question propounded in the intellectual world but this locked chain, editors and public dance the whole would be answered in America. But the chief evil that year in a circle with touching harmony; and when renders the freedom of the press so sterile, and public they have danced through their campaign, are preopinion so powerless in this country, lies precisely in cisely at the spot from which they started. But they this, that it busies itself in narrow partialities and established things, continually revolving in the same fought a battle that has caused the world to tremble, circle, and thereby stultifying itself, while it envel- while the result of the whole conflict is-a new presopes itself in apathy or enmity towards those things ident or a new mayor.

and what have we gained by it? We have been able, it is true, to work for the future in a narrow circle, frailties and vices that spring from nature and cirtude, and this not merely because our language has is more difficult to educate freedom through freedom, not been understood. What avails freedom of speech than to wrest it from despotism. Her if men shut their ears to it? What means the appealing to public opinion if it does not, will not, hear legitimate existence, and that in the land of the centhey will not suffer the question to be answered to gain access to them? What can the mission of truth But if the mental insensibility and unwillingness, accomplish, if the Chinese Empire of stagnation which it is designed to set in motion forces the missionary to retreat from its frontier? In no country duced by a reckless driving over everything in all of the world would freedom of the press avail less directions, or an absorption in material pursuits, there than in this in which the greatest freedom of the it is not wonderful that the free press lesses its power, press exists, since in none is INTELLECTUAL COWARD-ICE, which shrinks from everything that is not es-own weight. There is no more apposite and convinctablished, greater than here. If the American cotton ing proof of this, than the condition of the city of ever fails to find a market in Europe, we need only New York. Here, we may say, there is not a single supply those with it who stop their ears against the dog that does not join in the general cry against th truth, and the plantations will not lay waste. Americans, it is said, know no fear. It may be that they not merely a moral evil, incapable of exciting vulgar know no fear of the elements, either of earth or air, wisdom, but the almighty dollar that is threatened of fire or water, of blood even; but many are terriin every pocket. Still public opinion, armed with the of are or water, of blood even; but many are termined with the bly afraid of ink if it fills the pen of a critic of their right of assembly, the freedom of the press and popreligion and their politics, their narrowness and their ular suffrage, has not yet been able to clean this authorities, their customs and their prejudices. And Augean stable of shameless corruption. It is as pow the greater part of the Germans do their best to imierless against the moral filth which endangers the

does the tribunal of public opinion signify, if neither plaintiff nor accused are suffered to appear before it, and if it is itself the only party heard? The ancients made Justice blind, but it never occurred to them to make her deaf also. Truth is all-powerful over the mind, but it cannot be so over the tympsnum, so long

as thunder and lightning are not at its disposal.

I have heard several lectures in New York in the English language, delivered by persons of talent, on Infidelity, Priestly Hypocrisy, and the like. Do you power in America? The right of assembly, the free- think that the American papers reported a word of them? They did not even dare to impeach the truths of the infidels, because they were so fully con South, tar and feathers may be added to these.) These organs are in constant activity in this country, and what have they accomplished? Have they discover, ed truth, have they secured right, have they sped by the public as a recommendation. Or were they progress, have they placed the representatives of all three at the head? In one word, has Public Opinanti-religious subjects did not belong to a political ion here proved itself to be the protecting power of paper? But the sermons of their reverend gentlethe right, and the destroying power of the wrong?

Let us speak first of popular suffrage. Public

readers: as the saying is, a clergyman need but to Opinion has had more than a score of years to pene- 'Health to you!' And not only to the Protestan sneeze, and the whole American press will ery out, trate the character of the Democratic party, and eight years to study Pierce and Buchanan, whom it eight years to study Pierce and Buchanan, whom it should have known well enough from the first day. largest journals inform the public of what kind of And after it has exalted them in the first place to the highest rank in order to condemn them later thy natural philosopher who is to sit in it. The rethe more deeply, it is now meditating how it is pos-sible to give them a follower that exceeds them both in baseness. To no man was Public Opinion more as much for composition as it would to publish the sermons that are delivered in them, cost them yearly in baseness. To no man was I done of the last much for composition as it would be published the indifferent than to Pierce. But no sooner had he entire works of Tom Paine, whose very name they been nominated by a convention of those guardians of Public Opinion called wirepullers, than Public Opinion precipitated itself upon him with greedy ensured the property of falsehood, they think they can kill truth by silence. Practically this may be so; but it has never

occasions, in which either the Vivat or the Pereat disgrace that a man can be charged with. Whence is occasions, in which either the 'voice of God' was it, then, that he so carefully holds fast to theories plainly heard. And what is the most original is, that which criticism proved to him long since to be a the 'voice of God,' having just condemned the poli-whole system of falsehood? There is a charge cy of Buchanan through the medium of the vote of against reason which can be settled by no other the people, he himself proclaims the 'voice of God' means than the test of free investigation, and this is in his Message, in that that Providence has wonderagainst character which can be met by no other mes than an honorable trial, and this is called the 'fear of truth.' To have no reasons of one's own, and to re-Consequently, Public Opinion likewise. For what are fuse to listen to those of others, may be called inopinion. What will he, who has lost all sense of mands fermer and fermentation demands leaven.

stion whether Slavery and Freedom Whence is it that they have not the courage to be also

lieving fair play against the believing? Is it fair If this condition does not yet determine the respectability, infallibility and power of public opinion, let them with contempt, yet never make it possible for us further consider that it is the result of a continual the public to whom they are denounced to form a

service as warmly for the negative. We might call what they write to-day and print to-night comes such applause striking truth and common sense like from those who will read it to-morrow morning? The secret meaning of this nonsense is, that the newspa-There is no greater mockery upon public opinion pers seek to meet the pre-supposed lack of opin than the so-called convention and wire-pulling sys- or the preconceived opinion of their readers, and the iguers, and its expression the point on which they stood before. A newspaper result of an unprincipled party training. In fact, in ought, before all things, to have an individual, indeconsequence of this party-driving, the third organ of pendent opinion on all the general questions of public public opinion, namely, the freedom of the press, is opinion—in short, an opinion of its own. It must rendered entirely superfluous. Of what use is the serve a fixed purpose, emanating from an individual freedom of the press, we may ask, if it only forms tendency, and therefore create a propaganda for its the mouthpiece of stereotyped impressions and trained own principles while it makes war against those of minds? Is the freedom of the press necessary to its enemy. It should display an animating and creprint an almanac or a catechism? Is not the whole ative life like every intellectual activity, instead of intellectual world stereotyped in this country? Are being a mere repetition of existing things. But in

that could infuse into it a fresher or more vivifying Besides the partiality and exclusiveness which is this country shackle the freedom of the press, its What was once our dream while gagged by the power is also impaired by the workings of custom. German censor? The freedom of the press. What The mind, exposed to the daily influence of free was the power by which oppressed minds hoped to speech, becomes hardened like the body when long lift the world on its hinges? The freedom of the exposed to the open air. Besides, we must reflect press. Now here we have the freedom of the press, that mere external liberty can never be a universal but our voice has not penetrated among the multican people have or give an opinion, if sor an unimportant pamphlet produces more effect on the greater part of the Germans do their best to imitate them. The conspiracy to ignore truth, to evade criticism, is nowhere more extended or powerful than where truth and criticism possess the greatest freedom—in England as well as in America. Their victories, therefore, are doubly difficult on those battle-fields where the best wespons are furment of courtiers, than it is becoming here in the

nished them. But what, we have a right to ask, regiment of democracy under the protection of pub- racy, will only become possible through universal en-

We have now become somewhat better acquainted We have brought to light its weak sides, reduced it to its constituents, examined its value, its means and its power. The result will appear a disconsolate one to its constituents, examined its value, its means and its power. The result will appear a disconsolate one to many. If nothing can be built upon public opinion, what hope remains, they ask, for mankind? On what shall progress rely, if universal judgment can not serve as its support? Who can guide and make laws for society, if it cannot conform itself to them? Lastly, what does democracy signify if the majority is so often in the wrong? These questions lead us to other reflections, which temper the hopelessness of the foregoing results, and show us the true position in relation to public opinion.

And now to those present a special word in conclusion. I have invited you as readers of the 'Pionier' is not, if many respects, living on a good footing with public opinion, particularly with that of this New Babylon, you cannot all have the right of admission to the court of this sovereign, but must sooner or later fall into disgrace. But he who has the sovereign against him will not be left in peace by the courtiers and subjects. He lives constantly in a state

principle of equality for its centre of growing precise condition of conflict, of development, of pro-

It is now clear that, in the conflict of opinions ment and realization until the great mass of developlingering process, but it is not to be avoided—it is a world. I leave none but the dying behind,' were her If we acknowledge this necessity to be last words. But we will add to them this better congrounded on the nature of things, it would be folly solation: "I find none but the living again." to expect the adoption of every new truth of public opinion, as it would be weakness to despair of it. As a shifting coast is formed by the subtle deposit of the I am really pleased that my article on Slavery has rolling waters, so likewise the empire of truth extends slowly, but surely, as the atoms of truth are ders of the Age. deposited unnoticed by the struggling waves of To John McRae I would have replied, but was absent opinion. We see all at once an island springing up where nothing but water was visible before, which weeks after it appeared, and also having sent an attect weeks after it appeared, and also having sent an attect weeks after it appeared.

according to our own judgment and conviction, without regard to public opinion. I am convinced that, You say, The first writer is evidently one in ordinary circumstances, if of a population of one those honest, earnest men who look at things in tion, so that it might be made necessary to think for may result." himself, the joint result of these individually-given votes would more surely reach the truth than if the and best to do right; and here I wish to settle this thousand persons, en masse, had laid hold of the resolutions of a public meeting of the usual kind, and thereby expressed their so-ealled public opinion. Nothing has become more necessary in this time of the consequences take care of themselves.' Why, loitering, of repetition, of faith in authority, and of my dear sir! it is none of my business what the conparty servility, than that the authority of public opinstalled in its stead, so that from this public opinion excuse myself for doing awrong on the ground that may spring up public judgment, public sentiment, doing right shadowed evil consequences. You say, may spring up public judgment, public bentiment, public knowledge and public justice. Public opinion has become public falsehood and tyranny. Almost should be abolished. True, friend; but how, and everything that is classed under its protection is fraud when? and falsehood, but it prolongs its life through the faith of the great masses. And what constitutes the great masses of mankind? Hitherto, alss! they have consisted of the rabble, and these consist, as Schiller says, not only of those who sweep the streets. How would it be, then, if public opinion and the opinion of the rabble should prove identical in our times? I, and help him up, not continue to trample him down, and then have the impudence to turn round and say at least, would not be willing to guarantee that, in the time is not yet come for you to do right—thus be left if the rabble, with their word-reasons, sound be atruck from the list. But shall the rabble rule the means to abolish slavery. Yes, Sir. And there is but means to abolish slavery. be left if the rabble, with their word-leaders, should adding insult to injury. be struck from the list. But shall the radore rate and intellect? No man would believe a single individuone way, emphatically one—stop stealing your brothal that should tell him that twice two make five.

Shall we believe it, then, from millions? Shall that bound with them,' and slavery will cease. which in the mouth of a single individual is stupidity and crime become wisdom and virtue when multiways become truth; we must know how to wait for enalayement is concerned. the period of time, and make use of it. Then, as we You say, 'It is not the abstract question of whether have seen, public opinion has constantly to pay old we will deprive four millions of blacks of their freedebts to the truth; thus there are always to be debts dom or not, but a simple fact staring us in the face. collected from it. If we do not find a fitting oppor-tunity for this at once, we must make up for it by here, any more than with Eve's eating the forbidden constantly adding new truths to the reckoning, till fruit. The question with us is, What is our duty? finally the debts will become so great that a crash, a Because my father stole a man, shall I steal one? And bankruptcy, a concurrous creditorum will ensue, where- my father stealing a man and giving him to me does by truth will not indeed receive its full due, but can not give me a title to him, does it? And if I receive count upon a more or less considerable per centage. him, and use him as mine, I become particeps crims finder it can then carry over to a new acsount. It is always better to be able to give credit than to run into debt. Public opinion seems to have received its education in America. It constantly carplish the object without doing more harm than good. ries on a most extensive business with fictitions capi- Sir, to me, there is a contradiction in your philoso tal, becomes bankrupt regularly, satisfies its creditors gent but inflexible creditor in the world.

we leave to nature and nature's God to the world.

Whether public opinion will always continue thus ing that it is always safe to do right. is difficult to say. It is to be hoped, that through the You say that the slave would not take liberty generalization of culture, public knowledge will also when he was offered it by John Brown. You must be misinformed in relation to this, for several slaves the future, as hitherto, in a small minority, but it will probably constantly become easier for it to force its way through public opinion. In any case, it is certain that a genuine public opinion, like a genuine democ-

lic opinion? Who will live to see, in this metropolis lightenment and culture; that it will only become lic opinion? Who will live to see, in this metropolis of the western world, right and truth appenling successfully to public opinion, and wrong and humbug that it will only become a power when the will to cast out, not to say condemned by it? Who will live to see this among Germans as well as among Americans? New York has been called a Babel; democracy, must remain what it is, an empty sound, that it is an empty sound, and the state of Rebel? Americans? New York has been called a Babel; democracy, must remain what it is, an empty sound, and what is the public opinion of the tower of Babel? Queen Semiramis built the old Babel, Queen Corpinion can only become a power in the degree and the sense in which those form a power from whom it comes, and a latent public opinion, which is presup-We have now become somewhat better acquainted with the mysterious being called Public Opinion. posed to exist through conscience, is in the end more efficient than that which is expressed, but has not the energy to face imposingly unprincipleness.

And now to those present a special word in con

in relation to public opinion.

Human nature is in general the same everywhere: it consequently possesses everywhere the same disposition and the same interests, whence it follows that it must everywhere have the same purpose in view and the same purpose in view.

And thence it again follows, that whatever agrees with this preconceived and shelter? As though we were on the defensive! follows, that whatever agrees with the right. It we are the aggressors, and none but the aggressors universal opinion is preconceived to be right. It thence arises, that what we wish to express by the phrase 'Public Opinion,' has indeed some just supposition at the bottom. But this supposition is seldom extended to reality. The presupposed public opinion is seldom the existing one. In reality, the opinion is seldom the existing one. In reality, the standing high above their stand-point, but also that it is the creating of talents of education and of external in the second opinion is preconceived to be right. It was the aggressors, and none but the aggressors are the aggressors, and none but the aggressors are the aggressors, and none but the aggressors are the aggressors are the aggressors. The safe harbor from which we bid defiance to public opinion is the knowledge, is the certainty that we are not only in advance of those hundreds of thousands, those millions, and standing high above their stand-point, but also that opinion is seldom the existing one. In reality, the inequality of talents, of education and of external conditions, outweigh the abstract equality of human nature with its consequent equality of dispositions and opinions, and the constant inequality that results therefrom, which in all its oscillations preserves the principle of equality for its centre of gravity, is the principle of equality for its centre of gravity, is the conquered, but it sends its cruisers out at the fitting which bring in the ships of the enemy in succession, one prize after another. Do not yield! That is the motto that conquers the world. To-day we are but a few hundreds, but we must do our best to add which springs from this inequality, the majority cannot be composed of those who go before, but those individual, through effort and perseverance, can renwho stay behind; but that the latter are more influders are superfluous the aid of those of the same idea, enced through the prejudices of their present life, But they can increase the series in geometrical prothan through the representation of a better future, of which they can form no idea without the aid of experience. For them, the constraint of painful experience, the necessity of substituting something for that which is untenable, must always be the chief take away anything from us; but we threaten them impulse to progress. Thus is the riddle solved why every new truth must stand in contradiction to public world of mental trash to open to them the road to opinion, and never succeed in gaining acknowledg- the future. And if at times we turn away from the experience and unsuccessful experiments. This is a

seems to be the product of a sudden action, though to the Age for publication on the Death and Blood of hundreds of years were probably spent in its creation. Christ as compared with the Death and Blood of John Before all things, it is essential not to suffer our- Brown to abolish Slavery and take away the Sin of selves to be imposed upon by public opinion, nor to be- our Nation, which should have appeared about the selves to be imposed upon by public opinion, nor to be-lieve in or yield to it without individual conviction. time John McRae's appeared, but never has, and also It is not necessary that we should always despise it, as the real editor told me that it was thought best not but still less should we take it as authority. We to publish my last, I concluded to say nothing further should influence it, but not depend upon it; we on the subject; but my friend B. F. C., who hails should use it in behalf of the right, but not learn from nowhere, having complimented us both, and the right from it. We should also, before all else, stepped in as a would-be conservative, seems to dethink for ourselves, try for ourselves, and then act mand of me some notice; and, in writing, I hope

thousand persons, for example, each one, separated the abstract, and strike for the right, without going from the rest, should give his vote on a public ques- into any consideration of the consequences which

ion should be abolished, and individual thought in-

and then have the impudence to turn round and say

plied by millions? Shall error become truth, wrong right or wrong in the abstract-but slavery being in become right, because the mass swears to it, and acts existence among us, what shall we do with it?' My, accordingly? But most men are included in that dear Sir, slavery is wrong in the concrete. There is mystical idea, that pusillanimous weakness, that takes anothing about it that is right. There is no redeeming error and wrong like truth and right for one thing quality in Southern slavery. There doubtless are when uttered by the multitude, and for another when persons who hold slaves, who have redeeming quali-uttered by a single individual. Whatever bears the stamp of public opinion is duty free in society; but as they are concerned, endurable; but slavery itself is that is not therefore contraband in which this stamp is wanting. Yet it must pay a duty, a duty ad valo-shall do with it. Why, Sir, what would you do if rem, and this is the duty of courage and perseverance.

You were in slavery? Just answer me that, and I will always become right, and right will al-tell you what we should do, so far as our brother's

You say you have read reams of preaching on thi

with per centages, and has its name constantly in-scribed in the debtor's book of truth, the most indul-if we but do our duty to-day. Having done that, phy, when you tell me that it is not right to do right we leave to nature and nature's God the result, know.

tion, which sets progress in motion, will remain in the future, as hitherto, in a small minority, but it will while those who were with John Brown had no other

You say, 'John Brown, from his spirit-You say, some menced at the wrong end to fee slaves; that he should have freed the manen fax, slaves; that he shall not dispute with him or you as to what he I shall not dispute do as he did, because I do as duty is. I sensu more will advance the cause of the see that the sword and died by it. But I to but He took the awaru and that we should repel was that, as to all who believe that we should repel was that, as to all who believe that we should repel was by force, in any case, John Brown did no more they believe in.

You say, 'If the Northern mind has a school b You say, 'II the attention maint has a school in propose—something practical—beneficial to be then without being destructive to the master, let him prowithout owing user tenders. I might present you had sent it for consideration. I magna present you tool and complete abolition as the panacou, and argue it a length, proving, step by step, that freedom is base for both slave and master; but I have not space now. for both save and but will put this simple question to you, What is best for you, freedom or slavery? to be a name or a

Quarr In closing, you throw out an insinuation, which will not reply to at present, but quote you. John McRae, a high-minded, honorable, tree man, a John Mercae, a magaratic believe, I will say, before the I nave good remarks and notices of an individual when opinion varies as he has written, wire—they only all opinion varies as are the state of the first individual mind, and cause k to blaze up again. Whereas, if unnoticed, it was

I have not looked at my article on 'Slavery' slav it appeared, as it is misplaced, and therefore do not it appeared, as to now it reads : cannot therefore speak now know just how it reads : cannot therefore speak to it. I conclude that it is all right, but may be misconstrued. You say I 'call upon the four millions of spiritualists of the United States to rise and put down spiritualists of do so now, -not vi et armi, however, but with that justice which should characterize the spir-

In conclusion let me say, that he who can excuse In concussion see still hold the slave in bondage, has not learned the true mission of spiritualism; and he who seeks to reconcile human slavery and the he was seen in the much to learn of the true beauty and worth of the new revelation

Ellsworth, Me.

New Edition of a Great Work. HELPER OUTDONE BY JUDGE STROUD

IN HIS MASTERLY WORK, SKETCH OF THE SLAVE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

EVERY man should own and read this book. Rev. Dr. Wayland says of it, in a letter to the author, 'I wish there was a copy of it is very fam-ily in the United States. No work could be more limly, or better serve the purposes of humanity.

We want 500 Agents to sell this work during the present Presidential campaign. No more effective document can be circulated. Price, \$1. Large & unt to agents.

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., No. 20 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON

Nig troc mar ness and whi of fi is sa Nig whi

DEC

a sma rural Garris spicy have le

have g that as elavery the source of Even the Bi eve of The be the an the puther and the puther and the Annual Ann

reperson their services of the

WEST NEWTON English and Classical School. THE Summer quarter will begin on Wednesday, For particulars, inquire of the Principal,

NATHANIEL T. ALLEN, West Newton, Mass. April 20.

The Nat Turner Insurrection. address on the receipt of Five Cer.
Address
March 4. FULL and reliable account. Copies sent to my THOS. HAMILTON, P. O. Box 1212, New York.

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS Hygienic Establishment.

Nos. 63 and 65, COLUMBIA STREET,

BROOKLYN, L. L. THIS Institution is open Summer and Winter for the reception of patients and boarders. The Botor brings to his aid eight years' experience in the Hydropathic practice, and he has no hesitation is saying that he has the largest out-door practice of any. Water Cure 'Physician in the county. To hearders, or parties visiting New York this Home ders, or parties visiting New York, this He offers superior inducements, as the location's rey desirable, being only fifteen minutes' walk from the Astor Hor Astor House. Accommodations and table, excelled and at one half the price charged at the Hotels. Address April 20. GEO. F. ADAMS, M. D.,

> THAYER & ELDRIDGE. PUBLISHERS

Wholesale Booksellers, 114 & 116 WASHINGTON ST. Mehl6 tf BOSTON, MASS

Resistance to Slaveholders LETTER TO SENATOR WILSON.

TUST PUBLISHED: a pamphlet of 26 pages, by HENRY C. WRIGHT, entitled, 'NO RIGHTS HENRY C. WRIGHT, entitled, 'NO RIGHTS, NO DUTIES; or, Slaveholders, as such, have no Rights, Slaves, as such, owe no Duties. An Answer to a Lecter from Hon. Henry Wilson, teaching lesistance to Slaveholders being the Right and Duty of the Slaves, and of the people and States of the North-For sale by BELA MARSH, 14 Bromfeld attest, and at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Corabill. Privalence.

CARPETING

'All the Year Round.'

JOHN H. PRAY, SONS & CO. IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN

CARPETING,

285 WASHINGTON STREET, (NEAR WINTER STREET,)

RECEIVE, by Steamers and Packets from Edg-land, the latest and best styles and qualities of Carpeting, comprising Wiltons, Velvets, best qualities of Brussels, Tapestries, Three-plys, Ridderminsten, &c., Painted Floor Cloths (of all widths and quali-ties), Rugs, Mats, Bockings, Feltings, Canton and Cocoa Mattings.

AMERICAN CARPETING. ALL WHICH ARE OFFERED AT

THE LOWEST PRICES, For cash or approved credit.

CHARLES HAZELTINE. PIANO-FORTE TUNER AND

REPAIRER.

Washington street, and at the Neponset Post-Office.